THE CREED OF Mr. Hobbes EXAMINED;

In a feigned

CONFERENCE

Between HIM,

AND

A STUDENT in DIVINITY.

LONDON:
Printed for *Francis Tyton*, at the three *Daggers* in *Fleet-street*, 1670.

2/23/43

THE CREED OF Mr. Hobbes EXAMINED;

In a Reigned

CONFERENCE

Between Him,

AND

A STUDENT DIVINITY.

K8.H65
Cz670t

LONDON:
Printed for Francis Tyton, at the Three Day-
ents in Fleet-street. 1670.

Plain

To the Right Honourable Edward *Earl of* Mancheſter, *Lord* Chamberlain *of his Majeſtie's Houſhold*, &c.

My LORD,

SEeing I owe to your Liberality both the leiſure and ſubſiſtence which I enjoy at *Holywell*, I am under the greateſt obligation of preſenting, to your Honour, the Firſt-fruits of my Studies, ſince my retirement to that Place. Theſe Studies promoted by the encouragement of your Lordſhip, were often ſuggeſted to me, by the unwelcome converſation of two ſorts of People, of which ſome appear'd deficient in Faith, and others, in Charity. It is not long, ſince, by accident, I convers'd with many who were forward enough in venting licentious Principles, in the way, but

without the accompliſhments, of Mr. *Hobbes*: neither have I eſcaped the trouble of meeting with ſome, who, having heard of the Error, and Recantation, of an unhappy young man, committed, ſometime, to my care; began to reproach my ſelf as a favourer of ſuch opinions. As for this raſh attempt againſt my own good name (the prejudice, which, from thence, might be ſuſtained in my Calling, being ſet apart); I could have been content to have ſate down in ſilence under it; being ready to deſpiſe, rather then, deeply, to reſent the loudeſt noiſe of ſuch impertinent accuſers. For I had learn'd of old, and by this inſtance was reminded of it, how unequal Judges the vulgar are wont to be; and how very few either can, or do, examine the reaſon of Things. It ſufficeth me, that I continue in the good opinion of your Lordſhip, and of ſome other very excellent perſons, whoſe Judgements ſeem not to be corrupted by ignorance, credulity, or, unjuſt ſuſpition: and doubtleſs, that Honour is to be preferr'd which is rather tall then broad. In the mean

time

time, it grieved me to ſee the Truth lye bleeding at the feet of thoſe who had not ſpurned at it out of ſtrength of Reaſon, but out of meer wantonneſs of humour; and I eſteem'd it a piece of Religion to bear ſuch a part as I was able in the vindication of her. In this Cauſe ſome have already engaged, whoſe Learning is greater then that I ſhould either equal it, or give it ſuch praiſe as it hath merited: and, certainly, the Pens of many others ought alſo to be ſharpned and employed, againſt our Author; that ſo Religion may the more triumph over Atheiſm, and glory both in the ſtrength and in the number of her Advocates; and that there may be left, as little ſoundneſs in the Reputations, as there is in the Diſcourſes, of ſuch unreaſonable men.

How ſound thoſe are, of which Mr. *Hobbes* hath been the great Patron, I leave to the judgement of all perſons, who have not, by any ſenſual courſe of life, receiv'd diſtaſtful impreſſions againſt Religion. He hath affirmed of God that he is a bodily ſubſtance, though moſt re-

ſined; and that he forceth evil upon the very wills of men. He hath fram'd a model of Government, pernicious, in its conſequence, to all Nations; and injurious to the Right of his preſent Majeſty: for he taught the people, ſoon after the Martyrdom of his Royal Father, that his Title was extinguiſh'd when his adherents were ſubdu'd; and that the Parliament had the Right for that very Reaſon, becauſe it had poſſeſſion. He hath ſubjected the Canon of Scripture to the Civil Powers, and taught them the way of turning the Alcoran into Goſpel. He hath ſaid it is lawful, not onely to diſſemble, but, plainly to renounce our Faith in Chriſt, in order to the avoidance of perſecution. His imagination hath been infected with ſo ſtrange an itch after uncertain Novelties in Doctrine, that he hath affronted Geometry it ſelf, which, ſo well, deſerveth the name of Science.

You ſee, my Lord, that the ſame Perſon, who endeavoureth to ſhake the Foundations of Religion, doth manage a quarrel againſt the very E-

lements

lements of *Euclid*. He hath, long ago, publiſh'd his Errours in Theologie, in the Engliſh Tongue, inſinuating himſelf, by the handſomeneſs of his ſtyle, into the mindes of ſuch whoſe Fancie leadeth their Judgements: and, to ſay truth of an Enemy, he may, with ſome Reaſon, pretend to *Maſtery*, in that Language. Yet for this very handſomeneſs in dreſſing his Opinions, as the matter ſtands, he is to be reproved; becauſe, by that means, the poyſon which he hath intermixed with them is, with more readineſs and danger, ſwallowed. Of late he hath ſet forth his *Leviathan* in the Latine Tongue; declaring his deſire (as is the manner of infected perſons) of ſpreading his Malady throughout the World.

All this being conſidered, your Lordſhip will not think it ſtrange, that I uſe, towards him, in ſome places, a little warmth in my refutation: which juſt Zeal, if he interpreteth, Paſſion and Rayling, he falleth into a like miſtake with the poor *Norvegian* in *Balzac*, who fled away from a Roſe, conceiving it to be

Fire. Wherefore for any bitterneſs of ſtyle, I will not be ſo injurious to my own innocence as to confeſs it: but for the Elocution it ſelf, I cannot but acknowledge, before ſo great a Maſter of ſpeaking as your Lordſhip is known to be, that, in many places it is beneath mediocrity: yet even that imperfection ſerveth the Character of ſuch a perſon as ſpeaketh in an extemporanean Dialogue; he being, now and then, at a loſs for aptneſs or fulneſs of expreſſion. Concerning the Introduction to this Dialogue, if it ſeemeth a little from the purpoſe of the enſuing Arguments, it is the more natural beginning of an occaſional Conference, in which men, otherwiſe then in the Schools, come not immediately to the matter. And I well remember that *Minutius Felix*, in that Dialogue, wherein he defendeth the Chriſtian Faith againſt the Cavils of the Pagans, beginneth with a ſtory of his walking towards the Sea; of his bathing, with good event, in the ſalt Waters; and of the little ſports which Children uſed in making the ſtones dance upon the ſurface of the waves. That which,

poſſibly,

poſſibly, may offend more, is the frugality of notion, wherewith I may ſeem to have managed ſome of theſe great Arguments; though in relation to the chief buſineſs concerning matter as incapable of Thinking, I have not been ſparing in my words or conceptions. But your Lordſhip (I aſſure my ſelf) knoweth well, that a man can ſcarce keep at diſtance enough from the crime of *Albutius* the Rhetorician, who deſired to ſpeak, in every Cauſe, not all that was fitting, but all that he could ſay: That a Defender of Religion is not always bound to produce the Arguments which prove the Truth, of which the Church is always ſuppoſed in poſſeſſion; but it ſufficeth that he keep off Aggreſſors: And this (for inſtance) was the manner of *Lactantius*. Laſtly, that the Book being compoſed in form of a Dialogue; by the largeneſs of my Replyes, I ſhould have ſeemed guilty of the incivility of common Diſputants, who endeavour to ingroſs the talk, and are unwilling to allow, to others, their turns of ſpeaking. For the reſt, I might alledge, with truth enough

nough by way of excuse, the performance of this Labour in the short space of the last Winter-Quarter: but the Apology it self, the great haste in those twelve Articles, might perhaps seem a crime and a matter of greater guilt then the errour of *Ovid*, who made the Sun to post through all the twelve Signes of the *Zodiack* in a single day. The whole, such as it is, is most humbly submitted to the Candor and Charity of your Lordship, of which, that it is great, I have good assurance, seeing your Honour hath pleased to receive into the number of your dependants,

My Lord,

Camb. June 4. 1670.

Your Lordships most obliged, though unworthy Servant,

Tho. Tenison.

The

A TABLE Of the Contents.

THE *Introduction*, Page
Mr. Hobbes *and the* Student *meet at* Buxton-well. 2.
An instance, of the train of imagination occasioned there. 4, 5.
Mr. Hobbes *his fear, & suspitious nature, expressed in the instance of* S. Roscius, *and parallel'd with the Character of* Epicurus *in* Cicero. 5.
The entrance into the Dialogue. The Students *caution about Moroseness, Profaneness*, &c. *Mr.* Hobbes *accus'd by* des Cartes, *in one of his Epistles, as a man with whom no correspondence is to be held.* Des Cartes *himself noted for prophaning the holy Text.* 5, 6.
Mr. Hobbes *defence against the charge of Moroseness*, &c. 7.

Why

Why des Cartes *an Enemie to Mr.* Hobbes, *and how they differ in the explaining of Sense.* ibid.

Mr. Hobbes *Creed, in* 12 *Articles, repeated.* 8,9.

Mr. Hobbes *boasts of the good effect of his* Leviathan *upon many of our Gentry.* 9.

Article 1. *Concerning the existence and immaterial nature of God.* 9. &c.

What Mr. Hobbes *meaneth Atheistically, in his pretended argument for the existence of a God.* 10.

Mr. Hobbes *opinion concerning the corporeitie of God noted by* des Cartes, *and further shewed out of his* Leviathan. 10,11.

The absurd consequences of that opinion (which in effect denyeth the being of a God:) one of them noted by Athenagoras. 12,13.

Mr. Hobbes *self-contradiction, whileſt he ſaith all is body, yet denyeth parts in God.* 14.

Mr. Hobbes *denieth incorporeal ſubſtances, becauſe the terms are not in Scripture.* 15.

His ſelf-contradiction and improprietie of ſpeech. 16.

Againſt Mr. Hobbes, *that the Scripture favours the doctrine of incorporeal ſubſtances,* ἀσώματον ἀσώματον, *cited by* Ignatius *out of the* N. T. 17.

Againſt Mr. Hobbes, *that both* Plato *and* Ariſtotle *wrote of incorporeal ſubſtances* 17,18.

Mr. Hobbes *argueth againſt incorporeal ſubſtances from* Tertullian *and the Doctors of the Greek Church.* 19.

Againſt Mr. Hobbes, *that the incorporeitie of God is aſſerted by* Athenagoras; Theophilus Aut. Tatianus, Euſebius, Athanaſius, *&c.* 19,20.

Des

Des Cartes *accuſeth Mr.* Hobbes *of making falſe illations whatſoever the premiſſes be.* 20.
An anſwer out of other places in Tertullian, *to the words cited by Mr.* Hobbes. 22.
Mr. Hobbes *writes the ſame over and over, eſpecially about incorporeal ſubſtances.* 23.
That Mr. Hobbes *fixeth a wrong ſenſe upon the words ſubſtance and matter.* 24,25.
A ſaying of Marcellus *concerning the making words free.* 24.
Mr. Hobbes *doctrine concerning the incomprehenſible nature of God.* 26.
How God is incomprehenſible. 27,28.
Againſt Mr. Hobbes, *that we may have an Idea of God: what an Idea is.* 31,32.
That Mr. Hobbes *is not advanc'd above the power of imagination.* 32,33.
That Mr. Hobbes *condemneth himſelf by granting a conception of* Vacuum. 35.
Of the Antients calling God the place of all things. 36.
The firſt Article concluded with the Apoſtrophe of Arnobius. 36,37.
Article 2. Concerning the Trinity. 37,38.
Mr. Hobbes *monſtrous explication of that myſtery.* 38.
Mr. Hobbes *ſubmitteth to the Annotations of the Aſſembly.* 40.
Pope Alexanders *abſurd proof of the Trinity noted by* Enjedinus. ibid.
According to Mr. Hobbes, *there may be more then 100 perſons in the Deity.* 41.
Concerning Adam, Abraham, Moſes, Saul, Chriſt, &c. *as repreſenting Gods perſon.* ibid.

Againſt

Against Mr. Hobbes, *that Father in the old Testament, is used sometimes in reference to Christ.* 42.
A text cited by Just. Martyr *disagreeing with the vulgar copy.* ibid.
The Trinity according to the explication of Mr. Hobbes, *no mystery at all.* 43.
Article 3. *Of the Origin of the Universe.* 43, 44. &c.
Mr. Hobbes, *conception of a great bulk of matter arising out of a point.* 44.
Against Mr. Hobbes, *that men are not wearied in ascending by effects and causes to the first.* 45.
Mr. Hobbes, *supposing an eternal cause in motion, supposeth an eternal cause to be no eternal.* 46.
The school of Epicurus *noted by* Cicero *as deficient touching the source of motion.* 47.
Against Mr. Hobbes, *that the Creation is to be proved by reason, not authority.* 48, 49.
Mr. Hobbes *is followed in his digression about the word Magistrate, and refuted: and places out of* Varro, Cicero, Tertullian, Grotius, *our Articles, are, to that purpose cited, and* Castalio's *niceness taxed.* 49, 50, 51.
Against Mr. Hobbes, *that if God is, it follows he is Creator of the order of the world: of the situation of the heart.* 52, 53.
Mr. Hobbes (*in* De homine) *confesseth that the order of the parts of the body doth inferre the existence of an intelligent framer of them.* 54.
Article 4. *Concerning the incorporeal and permanent nature of Angels: Mr.* Hobbes *supposeth them as phantasms in dreams, or pictures in a looking-glass.* 55. &c.
What Spirit and Angel signifie, according to Mr. Hobbes

Hobbes *at large.* 56,57.
Againſt Mr. Hobbes, *that the being of Angels and Spirits may be proved from natural reaſoning, and the old Teſtament.* 58.
Againſt Mr. Hobbes, *that Religion ariſeth not from tales publickly allowed* 50.
Of Cardan *and his* Genius. ibid.
Concerning Witches, Sybills, Oracles, that they ceaſed not (as Mr. Hobbes *ſaith) at Chriſts coming. Concerning* Michael Noſtredamus. 61,62.
Againſt Mr. Hobbes, *that the Angels ſent to* Abraham *and* Lot *were not meer apparitions.* 65.
That Chriſt was not tempted (as Mr. Hobbes ſaith) *in a Viſion.* ibid.
Scultetus's *miſtake of the word* πνεῦμα, *Mr.* Hobbes *his of it.* ibid.
That the N. T. *aſſerteth the exiſtence of Angels. Epiſcopius miſtake concerning Chriſt appearing as a meer Spectre to the Diſciples.* 66,67.
Mr. Hobbes *late confeſſion of Angels, as permanent and ſubſtantial, from the places in the* N. T. *Againſt Mr.* Hobbes, *that the Scripture ſpeaks of the creation of Angels.* 68,69.
Of the word ἀποκαλύψει *in* Col. 1. *the reading of* Irenæus *noted.* 70.
Mr. Hobbes *miſtake about the word Ghoſt.* 71.
Of his verſes of the Peak. ibid.
Concluſion of the firſt dialogue. 73.
Beginning of the ſecond dialogue. Article 5. *Concerning the Soul, and perception in matter.* 75.
According to Mr. Hobbes, *the Soul is the organized body in due motion, and the Scripture meaneth*

meaneth by Soul, bodily life. 75,76.
This refuted. Why blood (called the life) not to be eaten. 76.
Mr. Hobbes *hypotheſis concerning ſenſation: he putteth the* apparatus *for ſenſe it ſelf.* 79,80,81.
Difficulties concerning ſenſation explain'd, in the way, either of Epicurus, *or* Des Cartes; *a vindication of him concerning the motion of the* Globuli. 81.
It is prov'd, that ſenſation is not made by motion or reaction in meer matter. 82,83.
That Imagination is not meerly Mechanical. 86,87.
That memory is not meerly Mechanical, 88 *to* 95
That reaſon is not Mechanical. 96.
That the operation of ſimple apprehenſion is not Mechanical. 97.
That univerſals are neither real things nor meer names. 98.
That the operation of the mind in framing propoſitions is not Mechanical. 99.
Or in deriving concluſions. 100.
Againſt Mr. Hobbes, *that reaſon is not meerly an apt joyning of Names.* 102,103.
Article 6. Concerning Libertie and Neceſſitie. 104, &c.
Regius *inconſiſtent with himſelf, Mr.* Hobbes *conſiſtent, and after the manner of the* Stoicks, *in this doctrine.* 105.
Man according to Mr. Hobbes *chuſeth, and refuſeth, as neceſſarily as fire burneth.* ibid.
This doctrine refuted by the reaſons in the laſt Article, concerning the Soul. ibid.
Of Biſhop Bramhal *againſt Mr.* Hobbes. *Biſhop* Taylors

Taylors *judgement concerning that work.* 107.
This Doctor chargeth God with all impieties, and barbarities committed by men; and Mr. Hobbes *is not ashamed of the consequence.* 108,109.
Against Mr. Hobbes, *that Gods permitting of sin, is not the same with willing it.* 110,111,112.
Mr. Hobbes *doctrine upbraideth all laws.* 114.
The instance of whipping, and drowning, Nicons *Statue.* 114,115.
Against Mr. Hobbes, *that the will, if physically necessary, cannot make the action just, or unjust.* 115.
Against Mr. Hobbes, *that men not meerly punished for noxiousness to societie.* 116.
Of the killing of Beasts. 117.
Of the necessity whereby God doth good; it differs from Mr. Hobbes. 118.
Against Mr. Hobbes, *that mans libertie contradicts not Gods, or his omnipotence,* 119.
Nor his Prescience. 120.
Of a sufficient cause. Mr. Hobbes *clearly refuted. he trifleth of moral and natural efficacy, distinct, against Mr.* Hobbes. 125,126.
Article 7. Concerning the law of nature: Jus & Lex, *not first distinguished by Mr.* Hobbes. *Of the fundamental rule of temperance, self-interest.* 127,128.
A description of Mr. Hobbes *his state of Nature* 129,130.
This hypothesis refuted. 131.
To such models a saying of the Lord Bacons *applyed.* ibid.
Of the Origin of man according to Epicurus. 132.
Epicurus (*according to* Gassendus) *teacheth the same original of just and unjust with Mr.*

Hobbes. 133.
An instance out of Justin *of the civilitie of the* Scythians *without Law.* ibid.
All born under government. 134,135,136.
There may be sin against God, and a mans self in the state of nature. 137.
Some sort of murther, and theft, in a state of Nature. 138.
Of promiscuous mixtures, usual among the Gentiles. 139.
Scarce any consent of Nations: the chief, about the Existence of God. 140.
What is right reason, and when it is the Law of Nature, and eternal. 142.
Concerning the irresistible power of God as the measure of his actions. 144.
Article 8. *Of the power and right of the Civil Soveraign.* 147.
Laws made in vain, if self-interest be the prime Laws. The consent of Mr. Hobbes, *and* L. S. *in Natures dowry.* 148,149.
Mr. Hobbes *doctrine against the Kings Interest* 149.
Of the Earl *of* Essex. *of* Oliver. ibid.
The doctrine of Mr. Hobbes, *and Mr.* White *Catholick, against the Kings return.* 150,
A place out of Dr. Baily, *where* Oliver *is courted.* 151.
Mr. Hobbes *saith falsly, that no Bishops followed the King out of the Land.* 152.
That Bishop Bramhal *did so: his advice to the Remonstrants against* Socinianism. ibid. & 153.
Mr. Hobbes *prov'd to speak falsly, when he saith he never wrote against Episcopacy.* 155.
Mr. Hobbes *cuts zeal, for the late King, malicious.*

ons. 156.
He placeth right in present might against the King, considering the time. 157.
His doctrine destructive to Government. 161.
The servility of his friends pref. to Liberty and necessity noted. ibid.
Why the Papists contrary to the interest of the Kings government, and why Mr. Hobb's doctrine is not to be tolerated under any Government. ibid.
That Mr. Hobbes doctrine de Cive is old, though had, taught by Euphemus in an Oration in Thucydides, and by others. 162.
Of Tyranny. 163.
Of the prerogative of Princes, not rightly stated by Mr. Hobbes. 165.
Article 9. Of the Canon of Scripture, and its obligation before Constantine. 167.
A strange saying of Dr. Wettons. ibid.
Of sacred books not written by those whose names they bear. 168.
Of the history of Job in verse. ibid.
That the writing the Canon anew by Esdras is a Fable of the Synagoga magna. Bellarmines opinion of Esdras fourth book of the Lxx. 169, 170.
Why the Apocryphall books were excluded the Canon. What books St. Hierom saw, under the title of the first of Macc. in Hebrew. 171, 172.
Of the N. T. declar'd Canon before Constant. or the Council of Laod. 173.
What Pope Gelasius call'd Apocryphal, and what books he condemned. ibid.
Of the Apostles Canons. 174.
A place in Tertullian, concer. in the books of

the N. T. ibid.
The Copies of the N. T. not few, nor all in the hands of Eccleſiaſticks, prov'd againſt Mr. Hobbes. 174.
Of the Traditores in Diocletian's days. 175.
The N. T. Canon without the civil ſanction. 176.
That Chriſt ſubjected not Jews to the laws of Moſes. 178, 179.
Nor the Heathens to the Laws of their Country. Idolatry there a Law, prov'd from the 12 Tables. Auguſtus, Caius, Cicero, Socrates, Protagoras, Anacharſis. The deſign of Tiberius, for the deifying of Chriſt, obſtructed by the Senate: and that Chriſt came to deſtroy preſent Idolatry. 179, 180.
Of the new laws of Chriſt. 181.
That the commands of Chriſt and decrees of his Apoſtles, were laws, not bare counſels, againſt Mr. Hobbes. 184.
Of the power of the Church. and that Mr. Hobbes throughout his books, ſuppoſeth there is no power without force. 184, 185.
Of the Societie of the Church. 185.
It is prov'd that the function Sacerdotal is not to be exerciſed, by the civil Soveraign without ordination: though Mr. Hobbes grants to him or any man commiſſioned by him, a right of Ordination, Abſolution, Baptizing, Adminiſtring the other Sacraments, &c. 186.
Jews and Gentiles condemn'd for unbelief, and not meerly for their old ſins, againſt Mr. Hobbes, who in that matter, falſifyes St. John. 190.
Againſt Mr. Hobbes, that Chriſt had a kingdom, and could make laws. 191.
Article 10. Concerning profeſſion of Chriſtianity under perſecution. 192, &c.

Against Mr. Hobbes, *that in any Country we are not oblig'd to active obedience.* 194.
Of Mr. Hobbes, *his becoming (as Mr.* Sorbiere *pray'd) a good Catholick.* ibid.
That we ought to suffer, rather then obey against Christ. A saying of Tatianus *to that effect. Of the Grecians refusing prostration before the King of Persia. Of the Christians bowing no longer before the Statues of the Emperours, when* Julian *added those of false Gods.* 195, 196, 197.
Of Naaman's *bowing in the Temple of* Rimmon. 199.
Of Faith inward, against Mr. Hobbes. *that we ought to profess the faith.* ibid.
That Christ is not to be renounced with the mouth. that the Magistrates command excuseth not the Apostate. of Mat. 10. 33. &c. 200, 201.
Of Martyrs, their Æra. A double sort in Mr. Hobbes. 203.
Of the words Acts. 4. 19. *Mr.* Hobbes *accuseth them in effect, of impertinencie.* 207.
Mr. Hobbes *remitting Martyrs to heaven, falleth into the scoff of* Julian. ibid.
Article 11. *Concerning the future estate and place of torment.* 209, &c.
Mr. Hobbes *affirmeth, falsly, that the Torments are eternal, but not to single persons.* 211.
He useth the irresistible power, or mercy of God, as they serve his turns; this prov'd out of his de Civ. 213.
Against Mr. Hobbes, *that hell will not be on earth. of the vast numbers of people before the flood, and in a few years after.* 215.
Mr. Hobbes *supposeth devils, earthly enemies of Gods Church.* 217.

Of

Of the second death. ibid.
Whether the wicked shall be annihilated. It is prov'd against Mr. Hobbes, *from* Sophocles *and* Grotius, *that a miserable life is usually expressed by death.* 218.
Article 12. *Concerning the future estate and place of happiness.* 219, &c.
Mr. Hobbes *denying the immortality of the soul, granteth a future estate after the Resurrection, by Grace.* Ibid.
It is prov'd that the soul surviveth the body, and receiveth immediate recompence. 220, 221.
A full answer to the place of Solomon *wrested by Mr.* Hobbes *to prove that, in death, nothing remaineth of a man but a carcass.* 222, 223, 224.
And to those out of Job. 227.
That, although God could raise the body to life, yet without the supposition of a substantial Soul, the Doctrine of Religion would be prejudiced; against Mr. Hobbes. 228.
Of the Kingdom of God. Of the place of Heaven, on earth it is prov'd, that Christs Kingdom began long ago. 230, 231.
Against Mr. Hobbes, *that St.* Marc. 9. 1. *refers to the destruction of* Jerusalem, *and not to the Transfiguration of Christ.* 232, 233.
Of the Siege of Jerusalem *by* Gallus *and* Titus. Ibid.
Cœlestial bodies, in opposition to this gross flesh and bloud, confess'd by Athenagoras *and St.* Hierom. *they seem unagreeable to an Heaven on earth* 234.
If a man hath no substantial soul, he cannot be the same

ſame, in the alter'd contexture of a Cæleſtial body. Ibid.
It is prov'd from Scripture, againſt Mr. Hobbes, *that The Heaven ſhall not be on earth.* 235.
Concerning the Argument of Chriſt, for the Reſurrection, againſt the Sadduces. 237.
The double meaning of ἀνάστασις Ibid.
An anſwer to 1 Cor. 15. 22. *alleged by Mr.* Hobbes *to prove heaven on earth, and the bleſſed to be in the eſtate of innocent* Adam. *The Interpretation of* Crellius *and* Vorſtius. 238, 239.
Of Adams *immortality on earth* 240.
Jeruſalem *not to be the Metropolis of Heaven,* 241.
Anſwer to Pſal. 133. 3. *produced unskilfully by Mr.* Hobbes. 242.
Of the New Jeruſalem. *Of* Jeruſalem *above. Of the new* Jeruſalem *deſcending. With what it ſynchronizeth.* 243.
Anſwers to the places produced out of Iſaiah; Joel; Obadiah; *St.* John; *St.* Paul; *to prove that The Heaven ſhall be at* Jeruſalem *on earth, at the ſecond coming of Chriſt.* 244, 245, 246, 247.
The Concluſion. 284.

The

The Editions of such Books of Mr. *Hobbes*, as are cited in this Dialogue.

ELementa Philosophica de Cive. *Amsterd.* 1647.
Humane Nature, *London.* 1650.
Leviathan. *London.* 1651.
Objectiones in Renati Des Cartes Meditationes de prima Philosophia. *Amstel.* 1654.
Of Liberty and Necessity. *Lond.* 1654.
De Corpore, *in English*, *Lond.* 1656.
Six Lessons to the *Oxford*-Professors of the Mathematicks. *Lond.* 1656.
ΣΤΙΓΜΑΙ, or marks of the absurd *Geometry*, Rural Language, &c. of Dr. *Wallis*. *Lond.* 1657.
Elementorum Philosophiæ sectio secunda de Homine. *Lond.* 1658.
Mr. *Hobbes* considered, or his Letter to Dr. *Wallis*, concerning the Loyalty, Religion, Reputation, and manners of the Author. *Lond.* 1662.
Mirabilia Pecci. *Lond.* Reprinted, 1666.

Mr.

THE CREED OF Mr. *Hobbes*, &c.

The First Part.

MR. *Hobbes* of *Malmsbury*, having pretended to furnish the World with Demonstration, in stead of talkative and contentious Learning; and having particularly attempted to resolve the appearances of Nature, by Principles almost wholly new, without any offensive novelty; to discover the Faculties, Acts, and Passions of the Soul of Man, from their original Causes; to build upon these two foundations, the truth of

Caſes in the Law of Nature, and all the undoubted Elements of Government and Society; to diſcourſe of God, and of the moſt momentous Articles of Religion, in a way peculiar to himſelf; and having done all this with ſuch a confidence, as becometh only a Prophet or an Apoſtle: there is certainly no man who hath any ſhare of the Curioſity of this preſent Age, or hath had his converſation amongſt Modern Books, who yet remaineth unacquainted with his Name and Doctrine. Of theſe, the latter hath ſpread its malignity amongſt us too too far, and it hath infected ſome who can, and more who cannot read a difficult Author. Wherefore it is the buſineſs of this little Book, to expoſe this inſolent and pernicious Writer; to ſhew unto my Countreymen that weakneſs of head, and venome of mouth, which is in the Philoſopher, who hath rather ſeduc'd and poyſon'd their Imaginations, than conquer'd their Reaſon. And in doing this, I ſhall aſſume the uſual and allowed Liberty of feigning a Diſcourſe betwixt Mr. *Hobbes*, and a Student in Divinity; as alſo ſuch Circumſtances as gave occaſion to the Dialogue, after the enſuing manner.

A certain Divine having allotted one moneth in a year for his Diverſion, as alſo for his better information in the Topography of *England*, he choſe, a while ſince, to become an eye-witneſs of thoſe Wonders of the *Peak*, of which he had ſometimes read with ſome content, in the elegant Proſe of Mr. *Cambden*, and heroick numbers of Mr. *Hobbes*. In this Progreſs, he was led at length, by his Curioſity, to *Buxton-Well*, in ſuch a juncture of time as he eſteemed happy: For at the

the same hour with him, Mr. *Hobbes* alighted there, together with three or four other persons, of no inferiour quality; for the old Man being a well-willer to long-life, and knowing that those Waters were comfortable to the Nerves, (*a*) and very usefull towards the prolongation of health, was not unwilling to be a visiter of them. The fellow-Travellers of Mr. *Hobbes* had no sooner taken their Foot out of the Stirrop, than they were surprized by the Contents of a Letter, which a Messenger, dispatched after them, deliver'd into their hands. The business was a matter of great importance, and such as admitted of no delay, and was very improper for the attendance of Mr. *Hobbes*, who was therefore left by them with much excuse, and many expressions of Civility, to the sole conversation of the Divine. In their Address, Mr. *Hobbes* made his, with a stiff posture, and a forbidding countenance, having no ground of hoping for good usage from Men of that Order, upon which he had cast so much of his foulest Ink, besides their Christian Charity in forgiving Injuries. But it was not long before he learnt virtue from necessity, and chose, rather than to want, or seem to shun, an equal Companion, to put himself into a more sociable humour. After they had said those things which are of course amongst men in their salutations, and made known to one another their names and qualities, and purposes in this Journey, they prepar'd themselves to enter into the Bath; whilest they were in it, in those intervalls wherein they abstain'd from swiming, and plunging themselves, they discours'd of many things relating to the Baths of the Antients,

(a) *Mirab. Picci. p.* 18. *Hæc resoluta sensum confirma membra trementum, &c.* Cambd. *in Provinc.* Darb. *p.* 361. *Fontes stomacho nervis, & universo corpori salubres, &c.*

and the Origin of Springs: Amongſt other ſayings and enquiries of Mr. *Hobbes*, he at laſt brake forth, as it might ſeem, abruptly, into this Queſtion, *What Proportion is obſerved in the* Tuſcan *Order?* The Divine being well aware of thoſe ſudden leaps which the mind often taketh, from one thing to another, return'd firſt this Anſwer, *That the* Tuſcan *Order with Baſe and Capital muſt be ſeven times its thickneſs*; and then replied alſo, *That he could follow the train of Mr.* Hobbes's *imaginations, as far as that Queſtion, having gueſſed within himſelf at the firſt hint of them*; which proof of his ſagacity being deſired, he applied himſelf in this ſort, to the performance of his undertaking: *You firſt* (ſaid he) *beheld the Bath in which we are, you thence proceeded in your thoughts to the Baths of* Rome *Pagan*; *amongſt them you ſolicited the Fountain of* Mars; *and thence your imagination paſſed to the rudeneſs of* Nero, *who* (*as* Tacitus (*a*) *ſaith, defiled thoſe ſacred Waters, and violated the Ceremony of the place, by entring with his polluted body, immediately after one of his Riots: Having thought of* Nero, *his barbarous act of ſetting* Rome *on fire, came next into your mind*; *and thence you were led unto the motive which did in part induce him to burn the City, that is to ſay, becauſe it ſeem'd unto him a rude heap of inartificial ſtructures, and might ariſe to a greater glory out of its aſhes: The thought of building occaſioned that of the Fire Orders*; *and ſo at length your fancy was guided to the* Tuſcan. Mr. *Hobbes* acknowleged that he had conjectur'd aright, and begged pardon for that ſlight Queſtion, proteſting, *that whileſt he muſed, it came from him unawares*; *and being pleaſed*

(a) *Videbatur potus ſacros & Ceremoniam loci toto corpore polluiſſe, &c.*

pleaſed with the quick ranging of his companions mind, which he conceived to have been aſſiſted by the ſtudy of his own doctrine, concerning a Chain of Phantaſmes, he encreaſed in complacence. When they had in this manner *(b)* paſſed away an hour, they ſtepped out of the Bath, and having dried and cloathed themſelves, they ſate down, in expectation of ſuch a Supper as the place afforded, deſigning to make a meal like the *Deipneſophiſtæ*, and rather to reaſon, than to drink profoundly. But in this innocent intention they were interrupted by the diſturbance ariſing from a little quarrell, in which ſome of the ruder people in the houſe were for a ſhort time engaged. At this Mr. *Hobbs* ſeem'd much concern'd, though he was at ſome diſtance from the perſons. For a while he was not compoſed, but related it once or twice as to himſelf, with a low and carefull tone, how *Sextus Roſtius* was murthered after Supper, by the *Balnea Palatina*. Of ſuch generall extent is that Remark of *Cicero*, in relation to *Epicurus* the Atheiſt, of whom he obſerved, that he of all men, dreaded moſt thoſe things which he contemned, Death and the Gods. But Mr. *Hobbes* having in a ſhort ſpace recovered himſelf, he was willing to enter with the Eccleſiaſtick, into a ſerious Diſcourſe, and to examine and account for ſuch Doctrines in his Books, as were uſually accuſed not only of error, but likewiſe of downright irreligion. And for the more convenient managing of this Dialogue, the Divine addreſſed himſelf to Mr. *Hobbes*, to this purpoſe.

b *Mirab. Pecci p.* 18, 19. *Poſtquam vexatis, per totam, fluctibus, horam Luſimus; egreſſi ſic-cis, &c. Veſtor ſtratis expectat cænula menſis.*

Student. Before we engage in any Diſpute, I

am desirous to deal plainly with you, in reference to some things which may obstruct our design; and I hope you will not interpret for contempt, my ordinary liberty of conversation. You have been represented to the world, as a person (*a*) very inconversible, and as an imperious dictator of the principles of vice, and impatient of all dispute and contradiction. It hath been said (*b*) that you will be very angry with all men that will not presently submit to your dictates; and that for advancing the reputation of your own skill, you care not what unworthy reflexions you cast on others. *Monsieur Descartes* (*c*) hath written it to the confident *Mersennus*, and it is now publish'd to all the world, that he esteem'd it the better for himself that he had not any commerce with you; as also, that if you were of such an humour, as he imagined, and had such designs, as he believed you had, it would be impossible for him and you to have any communication, without becoming enemies. You are thought, in dispute, to use the Scripture with irreverence; and you have (*d*) in a scoff mention'd the *Focus* of the *Parabola* of *Dives* and *Lazarus*. I am ashamed of that humour in *Descartes*, who hearing that *Monsieur Petit* (*e*) had a little relish'd his Meditations, said, he was well pleased; adding also, that there was joy in Heaven for one sinner that converted. If you appear morose, wedded to your opinion, and profane; if you endeavour to enervate any Article of moment in our Faith, you must expect, either to be left alone, or to undergo the effects of a just indignation. I applaud in others, and I labour after a mastery of passion

a Divine Dial. Di. 1 p. 5,6.

b Ep. before Mediac. Academ.

c Tom. 1 Epis. p. 157, 158. J'ouge que le meilleur est que je n'aye point du tout de commerce avec luy, &c.

d Stigmai. p. 14.

e L. 2 de Ep. D. 3 tom. p. 599.

in

in my self; but when the honour of Religion is concern'd, it is my judgement not to suppress my warrantable zeal; and I cannot value such a moderate man, as in a worthy cause, is neither hot, nor cold.

Mr. *Hobbes.* For the morosity (*f*) and peevishness which I am charged with, all that know me familiarly, know 'tis a false accusation. But it is meant, it may be, only towards those that argue against my opinion; but neither is that true. When vain and ignorant persons, unknown to me before, come to me on purpose to argue with me, and to extort applause for their foolish opinions, and missing of their end, fall into undiscreet and uncivill expressions, and then appear not very well contented, 'tis not my morosity, but their vanity that should be blamed.

f *Mr. H. Consid. p. 59, 60.*

For *Descartes*, he was moved without cause, being jealous (*g*) that I should supplant him in his Principles of Philosophy. That fear was groundless; for I differed much from him, especially in the explication of sense by motion. Let any man read *Descartes*, (*h*) he shall find that he attributeth no motion at all to the object of sense, but an inclination to action, which inclination no man can imagine what it meaneth. Touching the holy Scriptures, I am so far from irreverence towards them, that I have great regard (*i*) to the Articles and Decrees of our Church, suspending my sentence, where the Church hath not determined.

g *Let. de Mr. D. 3. tom p. 159. a Mersen. Rogare plura ex te discat de meis principiis, quam jam novit.*

h *Mr. H. six Less. p. 38.*

i *Lib. & Access. p. 47.*

Stud. It would be much satisfaction to find all

this in the sequel of our Discourse, confirmed to me by experience. But whatsoever your behaviour is like to be, I cannot but fear (having been conversant in your *Leviathan*) that your opinions will deserve reproof. I have sometimes heard the substance of them comprized in twelve Articles, which sound harshly to men professing Christianity; and they were delivered under the Title of the *Hobbist's Creed*, in such phrase and order as followeth.

"I believe that God is Almighty matter; that "in him there are three Persons, he having been "thrice represented on earth; that it is to be de- "cided by the Civil Power, whether he created all "things else; that Angels are not Incorporeal "substances, (those words implying a contradi- "ction) but preternatural impressions on the "brain of man; that the Soul of man is the tem- "perament of his Body; that the Liberty of Will, "in that Soul, is physically necessary; that the "prime Law of nature in the soul of man is that of "self-Love; that the Law of the Civil Sovereign "is the obliging Rule of good and evil, just and "unjust; that the Books of the Old and New Te- "stament are made Canon and Law by the Civil "Powers; that whatsoever is written in these "Books, may lawfully be denied even upon oath, "(after the laudable doctrine and practice of the "*Gnosticks*) in times of persecution, when men "shall be urged by the menaces of Authority; "that Hell is a tolerable condition of life, for a "few years upon earth, to begin at the general "Resurrection; and that Heaven is a blessed

"estate

"eſtate of good men, like that of *Adam* before "his fall beginning at the general Reſurrection, "to be from thenceforth eternal upon Earth in the Holy-Land.

Theſe Articles, as they are double in their number; ſo do they a thouſand times exceed in miſchievous error, thoſe ſix ſo properly called bloody ones, in the dayes of King *Henry* the eighth—Nay Sir, I beſeech you ſet not ſo uneaſily; neither prepare to vent your paſſion; for if it ſhall appear in the purſuit of this diſputation, that this charge which is now drawn up, is falſe; I will not perſiſt in it, but be zealous in moving all your ſlanderers to lay themſelves at thoſe Feet of yours; at which (as you your ſelf have written) (*a*) ſo very many of our Engliſh Gentry have, with excellent effect, ſate for inſtruction. At preſent I deſire to take no other advantage from that preſumed *Creed*, than may be derived from the method in which the Articles of it are propounded, as alſo from the particular ſubjects contained in them, without any foreſtalling aſſent or diſſent of mind. For from thence we may fitly borrow both the Heads and the Order, of ſuch a diſcourſe, as will lead us without confuſion, throughout all thoſe Opinions, with which you are ſaid, to have debauched Religion.

Let us then take our beginning from the firſt Article, that fundamental principle, which being removed all real Religion falls to the ground; that is to ſay, the *Exiſtence of a God*. Are you then convinced, that God is?

Mr. *Hobbs*. I am. For (*b*) the effects we acknowledge

(*a*) Six Leſſ. p. 57. I believe my Leviathan hath framed the minds of a 1000 Gentlemen to a conſcientious obedience to preſent Government, which otherwiſe would have wavered in that point.

(*b*) Hum. Nat. p. 132 & Lev. c. 12 p. 53. & Object. 5. p. 97.

knowledge naturally, do include a Power of their producing, before they were produced; and that Power presupposeth something *Existent* that hath such Power: and the thing so existing with power to produce, if it were not eternal, must needs have been produced by somewhat before it, and that again by somewhat else before that, till we come to an eternal (that is to say, the First,) Power of all Powers, and first Cause of all Causes: and this is it which all men conceive by the name of God.

Stud. By this argument, unwary men may be, perhaps, deceived into a good opinion of your Philosophy; as if by the aids of it, you were no weak defender of natural Religion; but such as with due attention, search your Books, they cannot miss a Key, wherewith they may decypher those mysterious words, and shew that in their true and proper meaning, they undermine Religion in stead of laying the ground-work of it. *Des-Cartes* in an Epistle to Father *Mersennus* (*a*) makes mention, though with much neglect of your opinion concerning a Corporeal God, this it seems you had broached in a studied Letter, which passed through divers hands, about that time when All things Sacred began to be most rudely invaded; to wit, the commencement of our Civil Wars. And in divers Books since that time published, you have often insinuated, and sometimes directly asserted, that whatsoever existeth is material. Seing then, it is absurd to say, that Matter can create Matter; it followeth that the effects you speak of in your argument, are not to be understood of the very Essences of bodies (which in your Book *de Corpore* (*b*) you

(*a*) *Tom.* 3. *p.* 419. *Dat.* 1641.

(*b*) you conceive to be neither generated nor destroyed) but of those various changes, which by motion are caused in nature: your sense then amounteth to this impious assertion; that in the chain of natural causes, subordinate to each other, that portion of matter which in one rank of causes and effects (for you admit (*c*) of an eternal cause or of causes) being it self eternally moved, (*d*) gave the first impulse to another body, which also moved the neighboring Body, & so forward in many links of succession, 'till the motion arrived at any effect which we take notice of, is to be called God. In the like sense the Atheist *Vaninus* called nature, (*e*) the Queen and Goddesse of Mortals; being (as saith a learned Writer) (*f*) a sottish Priest of the said Goddess, and also a most infamous sacrifice.

b *De Corp. Part. 2. p. 84.*

c *De Corp. c. 26. p. 307* 'Till at last we came to one or many eternal Cause or Causes.

d *Ibid.*

e *Tit. lib. J. C. V. De Admirandis naturæ Reginæ Deaq; mortalium.*

Mr. *Hobbes*. This principle, that God is not incorporeal, is (*g*) the doctrin which I have sometimes written, and when occasion serves, maintain; I say, therefore, that (*h*) the world (I mean not the Earth only, that denominates the lovers of it worldly men, but the Universe, that is, the whole Mass of all things that are) is corporeal, that is to say, body; and hath the dimensions of magnitude, namely, length, breadth and depth, also every part of body is likewise body, and hath the like dimensions; & consequently every part of the universe is body, & that which is not body, is no part of the universe: and because the universe is all, that which is no part of it is nothing; and consequently no where nor do's it follow from hence, that Spirits are nothing; for they have dimensions, and are therefore really bodies; though that name in common speech be

f D. Windet *de vitâ functi. Stat. p. 13.*

g *H. Consid. p. 32.*

h Leviath: *part. 4. ch. 46. p. 372.*

be given to such bodies only, as are visible or palpable; that is, that have some degree of opacity. But for Spirits they call them incorporeal; which is a name of more honor, and may therefore with more piety be attributed to God himself; in whom we consider not what attribute expresseth best his nature, which is incomprehensible, but what best expresseth our desire to honor him.

Stud. If every part of body be body, not only as to us, but in it self; there seemeth to be such an inexhaustibleness in the least atome, as will render it, as infinite as the whole Mass of the remaining Matter, neither do I apprehend how there can ever be made a true beginning of the Theory of Nature; if, after the utmost resolution of matter, it be impossible to descend to the very root of Bodies: which Root I would name, a Physical Monad, if you would not use your standing weapons of reproach, (*a*) Jargon; nonsense; absurd and insignificant speech. But I will pursue this perplexing Argument no further, because we must not loose sight of our main Subject, touching the Corporeity of God; which is affirmed by you in this place, without the least offer of a Reason; which in good earnest were a very vain attempt, for if All be matter; seeing God is infinite and every where (*b*) and Body cannot be at the same time in the same space with body, (*c*) (both which by you are also granted) then by the name of God we must understand the universe. Then (*d*) whatsoever we see, or whatsoever we move towards, the same is Jupiter, and such an opinion if it once break in upon our belief, it will make a way there, by

a Lev. p. 4. 11, 19, 39. 371. *lib. & nec p. 5. six Less. p. 56.*

b Lev. *part.* 2. *p.* 190. *&* Hum. Nat. p. 134

c D. *Corp. part* 2. *p.* 78, 79.

d *Jupiter est quodcunq; videt quocunq; movetur.*

by which a million of abſurdities may follow after it, and that I may not ſeem to deceive by a general aſſertion, I will here repeat a few of them. It will follow thence, that All the actions of God proceed by unavoidable compulſion, from the mechanic Laws of moving and moved Matter. That ſome parts of the Deity perceive, what others do not, there being in divers bodies, divers Re-actions, in which you place the nature of conception (*a*) in organized matter; and muſt alſo allow the ſame in that which hath neither brain nor heart, if you will admit of perception every where, in Your Deity. That if any parts of matter be perfectly at reſt, then ſuch parts of the Deity, (ſuppoſe of Gold, Lead, or Marble) are without underſtanding, and thus in oppoſition to the Sovereign God, whoſe being and knowledge are no where excluded, you have ſet up a *Baal* of your own, of which one part is aſleep, in the depth of Reſt; and the other is in a journey hurried by motion. It will alſo follow from this principle of yours, that Idolatry which you ſomwhere (*b*) condemn as ſinful, is no crime; it being no other than an amicable officiouſneſs in one part of the Deity towards the other, if the Univerſe be God; and here a ſaying of *Athenagoras* (*c*) comes in fit time into my mind; and it is to this effect. If God and Matter be the ſame thing under differing appellations; we are impious if we deny to Stones and Trees, to Gold and Silver divine honor. Laſtly, if the Univerſe be God, then *Cain*, and *Cham*, and *Pharaoh*, and *Herod*, and *Pilate*, and *Judas*, and (that I may ſay it with ſufficient emphaſis) the Teacher alſo of this doctrin is part of the Deity.

a Lev. p. 3. &c. & part. 4. p. 352. &c.

b Lev. part. 4. p. 359. to 366.

c Athenag. Leg. pro Chriſtian. p. 14. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὕλην καὶ θεὸν, δύο ὀνόματα ἑνὸς πράγματος, τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὰ ξύλα, καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἃ νομίζοντες θεοὺς, ἀσεβοῦσιν

Mr.

d H. consid. p. 62, 63.

Mr. *Hobbes.* This (*d*) is all error and railing, that is, stinking wine, such as a Jade lets fly, when he is too hard girt upon a full Belly.

Stud. This nasty metaphor is widely misplaced, whilst instead of saying that I am hard girt, you should have confess'd your self (for that's the truth) to have been galled to the quick. For my self, I was not intemperate in my passion, but zelous in the truth: but your language is both foul and unjust; and (to allude further to the beast you speak of) you therefore boggle and foam, because of a sudden there is too much Light let in upon you, but laying aside this reviling humor, which is common not with ingenious Phylosophers, but with people of poor and evil education; let me with calmness be informed of those Reasons, upon which you so confidently support your self in maintaining the materiality of God.

a Lev. part. 3. p.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Before I repeat my Reasons, I will let you understand that I have expresly taught in My *Leviathan*, (*a*) that those Phylosophers, who said the World, or the Soul of the World was God, speak unworthily of him; and denied his Existence: for by God is understood the Cause of the World; and to say that the World is God, is to say, there is no cause of it, that is, no God.

Stud. In this you are at agreement with me, but seem to contradict your self, for here you deny that the World is God, and elsewhere you defend it most pertinaciously, that All is Body, which if it be, then, as hath been said, the whole is God, if he exisseth;

exiſteth; ſeeing nothing that is, can give bounds unto his infinite nature, and Body can be a neighbour to Body, but not an Inhabitant. In ſome places you write down, and in others you daſh out your fancy of a corporeal God: you have ſaid, that whatſoever is, is Body; you have alſo written, ([b]) that to attribute to God, parts or totality, is not honour, becauſe they are attributes only of things finite: and now methinks you ſhould not be ſo impatient of contradiction from others, ſeeing you ſwallow it without ſtraining in your own Books. But from this diverſion, pleaſe to return unto thoſe promiſed Reaſons, wherewith you are wont to manage this Argument of the materiality of our Creator.

b *Ibid.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* In this I will comply with you; and my care ([c]) it is, and labour, to ſatisfie the judgement and reaſon of mankind.

c F.B. *Ep. to Humanr.*

And firſt, ([d]) what kind of attribute, I pray you, is immaterial or incorporeal ſubſtance? Where do you find it in the Scripture? Whence came it hither, but from *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, Heathens, who miſtook thoſe thin inhabitants of the brain they ſee in ſleep, for ſo many incorporeal men; and yet allow them motion, which is proper only to things corporeal? Do you think it an honour to God to be one of theſe? And would you learn Chriſtianity from *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*? But ſeeing there is no ſuch word in the Scripture, how will you warrant it from natural reaſon? Neither *Plato* nor *Ariſtotle* did ever write of, or mention an incorporeal ſpirit; for they could not conceive how a ſpirit, which in their language was πνεῦμα,

d H. *confid. p.* 32, 33.

in

(in ours, a wind) could be incorporeal.

Stuá. In this first Endeavour (for a Reason I cannot style it) there are many things which appear to me absurd. You tell us that the Attribute of Incorporeal was borrowed from the Heathens, *Plato* and *Aristotle*; and yet almost in the same breath, you say, that neither of them did ever write of, or mention an incorporeal spirit. You reproach us, as learning Christianity (in stead of which you ought to have used the more proper term of Natural Theology) from such Heathens; and thereby you seem to herd with that ignorant multitude, who of late decry'd all humane Learning, upon pretence that it was heathenish and prophane, as if the Pearl of Wisdome and Reason were so besmear'd by the usage of the Heathens, as to be rendred unfit for the touch and service of a Christian Philosopher. You again are too too much in their humour, whilest you require expres mention of a term in holy Scripture, and upon the supposed silence of it, reject the notion which may be delivered in another form of words. And moreover, when you say that *Plato* and *Aristotle* could not conceive a spirit, by reason that with them it signified a wind, to be incorporeal; therein also you ought not to have used such confidence in your assertion: for if wind be motion, and motion be so unglued and loose, as to pass from Body to Body, I know not whether the name of wind may not more promote, than obstruct the apprehension of an incorporeal Being. We are informed by *Sextus Empiricus*, (*a*) that some of the Antients contended expressly for the incorporeity

(*a*) Sext. Emp. Pyr. hypp. l. 3. c. 17. p. 138.

poreity of motion. I mean by motion, that force so little yet understood, which is the cause of the translation of bodies, and not, as you somewhere (*b*) speak, the relinquishing of one place, and acquiring another.

b *De corp. part. 2. c. 8. p. 79.*

But leaving this subtiler Consideration, I will proceed to shew, that neither the Scripture, nor the School of *Plato*, or *Aristotle*, is wholly unacquainted with the Doctrine of an incorporeal spirit. Concerning the holy Scripture, it saith, that God created all things, and filleth all things, and therefore it teacheth that he is immaterial. And for the very term, we may perhaps meet with it in the words of our blessed Lord (*c*) who appearing to the doubting and amazed Disciples, encouraged and confirmed their faith, by saying to them, Lay hold of me, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal Dæmon: you will now tell me, that I follow not the true Copy of the New Testament, in the translation of this produced Text. I defend my self, by answering, that I follow holy *Ignatius*, who in his undoubted Epistle to those of *Smyrna* (*d*) cited both by *Eusebius* and St. *Hieromе*, bringeth in our Lord using these words, λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. This excellent person who saw our Lord after his resurrection, did either cite the words exactly (*e*) or else, which also strengtheneth my cause, he e press'd the sence of them, according as it was received in the incorrupteſt Age of the Christian Church.

c Luke 24. 39.

d Ign. Ep. ed. Voss. p. 3.

e *He prefaceth to them by* τὸν ἄνωθεν, *he said unto them, not adding,* τὸ *this purpose.*

Concerning the Philosophy of *Plato*, in relation to the Question which lay before us, there is nothing more received, than that he affirmed the

most celestial parts of matter, neither to be God, or Angel, or spirit of man, but to be ὀχήματα πνευματικὰ, (as is the phrase of *Hierocles*) the spiritual Chariots of præ-existing Angels, or of departed minds. In the beginning of the Dialogue with the Jew *Trypho*, *Justin Martyr* (*a*) at large, relating his small proficiency under the Tutorage of a *Stoick*, a *Peripatetick*, and a *Pythagorean*, adds also, that he adjoyn'd himself at last to a *Platonist* of great fame; that he improved daily by his instruction; that he was extreamly pleas'd, amongst other parts of science, by him taught, with the notion of incorporeal beings: and if I well remember, the great admirer of *Plato*, *Psellus*, has call'd the Soul an immaterial and incorporeal fire. (*b*) And touching *Plato* himself, I am sure that I have read this Maxime in his *Politicus*, (*c*) that incorporeal Beings, which are of all others the most glorious and great, are only conspicuous to the faculty of Reason, which though it be there said by *Hospes*, yet it is approved of by *Plato* himself, under the name of *Socrates*, who reply'd, that he had excellently spoken. Neither will I pass by the testimony of *Aristotle*, who by his separate Intelligences, meaneth (saith *Ben Maimon*) (*d*) the same with those, who maintain the existence of incorporeal Angels. And concerning the rational soul, he teacheth, (*e*) that it is separable from the body, because it is not the Entelech of any body, having a while before enquired whether it be endued with any peculiar function, not arising from this compounded estate. He also (*f*) denieth, that motion can arise from a body.

a Just. Mart. *op.* p. 219. καὶ με ἤρει σφόδρα ἡ τῶν ἀσωμάτων νόησις, &c.

b αὖλον καὶ ἀσώματον πῦρ.

c Plat. *Pol. Ed. Fir.* p. 182. τὰ γὰρ ἀσώματα, καλλιστα ὄντα καὶ μέγιστα, λόγῳ μόνον, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ σαφῶς δείκνυται. Socr. κάλλις' εἶπες.

d *More Nerochim*, part. 2. c. 6. p. 200.

e Arist *de An.* l. 2. c. 1.

f Ar. *de Cælo.* ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος κίνησις οὐκ ἐγγίνεται

Mr. *Hobbes*,

Mr. *Hobbes.* It is manifeſt by your thick quotations, that you are much in love with Authority; to that therefore in the ſecond place I will refer you. Know then (*g*) that whatſoever can be inferr'd from the denying of incorporeal ſubſtances, makes *Tertullian*, one of the antienteſt of the Fathers, and moſt of the Doctors of the Greek Church, as much Atheiſts, as my ſelf.

g *Mr. H. Conf. p. 37.*

Stud. You have not, by this means, advanc'd your hopes of victory; for I ſhall make it evident, that the Forces in whoſe numbers you truſt, are falſly muſter'd. The Fathers of the Greek Church believe in the ſame ſence with the Doctors of our own, that God is a Spirit: for *Ignatius*, and *Juſtin Martyr*, you have heard already on what ſide they ſtand.

Athenagoras, in his Embaſſie, in behalf of the Chriſtians, to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and *L. Aurelius Commodus*, diſcourſeth to this purpoſe. (*a*) The *Athenians* did moſt juſtly condemn *Diagoras* for ſacrilegious impiety, who rather than his Coleworts ſhould remain unboyl'd, would cut in pieces the Statue of *Hercules*, who alſo did expreſly affirm that there was no God at all. But as for us, who ſeparate God from matter, and teach that God is one thing, and matter another, the reproach of Atheiſm is moſt unreaſonably and injuriouſly charg'd upon our Creed. The ſame *Athenagoras*, in a few Pages after this diſcourſe (*b*) again profeſſeth, not as his private opinion, but as the faith of the Chriſtians of that Age, that God admitteth not of any diviſion, neither conſiſteth of any parts. Then for *Theophilus*, the Patriarch

a Athen. Leg. p. 5. ἡμῖν δὲ, διαιρῶσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἕτερον μὲν τὸν ὄντα τῇ ὕλῃ, ἄλλο δὲ τὸν Θεὸν, &c.

b Ath. p. 9. ἵν' ἔχητε καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἡμῶν τῆς πίστεως, &c. ὁ Θεὸς, ἀόρατος καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀσώματος ἐστι, οὐ μέρεσι διαιρετὸς, οὐκ ἄρα συνέστως ἐκ μερῶν,

triarch of *Antioch*, who likewise writeth, not as a private man, but as a common Apologist for the Christians; he tells *Antolycus* the Heathen (*c*) that God is every where, and that every thing is in God. Had he believed God to have been a Body, he would not have placed all other Beings in his boundless Essence, unless we shall take the boldness to accuse the holy Patriarch of that fault, which *Des-Cartes* imagined he had espied in your self, of failing (*d*) whatsoever the Premisses be, in the Illations deduced from them. If we consult *Tatianus*, in his Oration *contra Græcos*, we shall likewise obtain his suffrage (*e*) for the immateriality of the first cause. There are, said *Tatianus*, who do maintain that God is a Body; I am not of the same belief with them, for my perswasion is, that he is incorporeal. *Eusebius* may be produc'd in the same place (*f*) both against your self, touching the materiality, and against Idolaters, touching the worship of Angels; for thus he speaks, We have learn't to honour the incorporeal powers, according to the degree of their dignity, ascribing divine honour to God alone. St. *Athanasius* tells the Followers of *Sabellius*, that it is a very childish and foolish conceit, by the eye, or by the circumscription of place, to comprehend that which is incorporeal (*g*) understanding this speech of the infinite Majesty of Almighty God. St. *Chrysostome* in the same place affirmeth, God and the soul of man, to be incorporeal. (*h*) I might here subjoyn in favour of the common opinion, St. *Irenæus*, (*i*) St. *Basil*, St *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Gregory Nyssen*. St. *Epiphanius*, and a long

c Theoph. Antioch. *l* 2 *p* 81.
d *Obj & Resp.* 3. *p.* 103. *Resp. ad Obj.* 12. *Miroq; me nullam hactenus rectam illationem in his objectionibus invenisse.*
e Tat. Assyr. *p.* 162. σῶμά τις εἶναι λέγει Θεὸν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀσώματον.
f Eus *dem. Evang. l.* 3. *p.* 69. Δυνάμεις, ἀσωμάτους τιμᾶν, &c.
g Ath. *cont.* Sab. *greg. tom.* 1. *p.* 660. νηπίαν, &c. λαμβάνεσθαι τὸ ἀσώματον, &c.
h *Ap.* Sandil *interp. Parad. in* Jo. 4. 24. *p.* 197. i Iren. *l.* 3. *c.* 23. *p.* 290.

long order of others, if it were not a needleſs labour, and would not look more like oſtentation, than neceſſary defence of truth.

Some indeed of the Antients believed Angels not to be wholly incorporeal; and St. *Hierome* placeth it amongſt the Errors of *Origen*, that he aſcribed to Angels, bodies of Air: they taught not, that Body was their ſole eſſence, but their cloathing. So that to ſpeak after your own manner (*a*) I obſerve a great part of thoſe Forces, by the ſtrength of which you contend againſt incorporeal ſubſtances, to look and march another way.

a *Lib. & Nec. p. 6.*

Mr. *Hobbes*. *Tertullian* however is on my ſide; for he (*b*) in his Treatiſe *de Carne Chriſti*, ſayes plainly, *Omne quod eſt, corpus eſt ſui generis; nihil eſt incorporale, niſi quod non eſt.* That is to ſay, Whatſoever is any thing, is a body of its kind; nothing is incorporeal, but that which has no being. There are many other places in him to the ſame purpoſe; for that doctrine ſerved his turn to confute the hereſie of them that held, that Chriſt had no body, but was a Ghoſt: alſo of the ſoul he ſpeaks as of an inviſible body. You ſee what fellows in Atheiſm you joyn with me.

b *Mr. H. Conſid. p. 37, 38.*

Stud. Some perhaps might here reply, that *Tertullian* was a ſingle witneſs, and that his teſtimony might appear invalid, becauſe he was condemned of old, as an Heretick for this very Doctrine; becauſe he was a man of a various Creed; becauſe he was better skilled in the Laws of the *Roman* Empire, than in thoſe of nature; at leaſt

that he attended not to the phylosophick consequence of his opinion; lastly, because to avoid his adversaries, he ran too nigh the other extreme, and would have used different weapons in another controversie. But it will be more agreeable to the reverence which we owe to that very antient and learned Writer, to explain one place in him by another, than rudely to accuse him. It is therefore to be noted, that *Tertullian* sometimes called the passive matter by the name of body, and sometimes by body understood the meer substance, being, or essence of things. In the first sence, are those words to be expounded, which we find in his Book *de Animâ*. (c) *In quantum omne corporale, passibile est, in tantum quod passibile est, corporale est.* Now it is not to be imagined, that in this meaning of the word *Corpus*, a body should be attributed to the impassible Nature of God, by a man who devoutly adored his Perfections. For the second sence, I will alledge the explication which he himself hath made, in his Book against *Hermogenes* (d) the Phylosopher and Painter, who being perhaps debauched by his very profession, which chiefly imploy'd his fancie, affirmed that matter was co-eternal with God. *Nisi fallor enim, omnis res aut corporalis aut incorporalis sit necesse est: ut concedam interim aliquid incorporale de substantiis duntaxat, cum ipsa substantia corpus sit rei cujusq;* And in the very words which *Usher* in those, now cited by you, and craftily conceal'd, it is apparent that by body, *Tertullian* meant only essence, and not impenetrable matter. The words are these, *Quum autem sit, habeat necesse est aliquid, per quod est: Si habet aliquid per quod*

c Tertul. de An. c. 7. p. 268.

d Tert. adverſ Herm. c. 35 p. 246.

est

eſt, hoc erit corpus ejus. Omne quod eſt corpus, eſt ſui generis.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Of Authority enough, let us conſult natural Reaſon, by attending to which I maintain, (*a*) that Incorporeal Body, is not a name but an abſurdity of ſpeech. Spirits (*b*) ſupernatural commonly ſignifyſie ſome ſubſtance without dimenſion; which two words do flatly contradict one another. I ſay, again, (*c*) an Incorporeal Body or (which is all one) an incorporeal ſubſtance, is a name made up of two names, which have ſignifications contradictory and inconſiſtent, for (*d*) a ſubſtance is matter, ſubject to accidents and alterations. If a man (*e*) ſhould talk to me of a round Quadrangle; or accidents of Bread in Cheeſe, or immaterial ſubſtances; — I ſhould not ſay he were in an error, but that his words were without meaning; that is to ſay, abſurd. Though men may (*f*) put together words of contradictory ſignification, as ſpirit and incorporeal, yet they can never have the imagination of any thing anſwering to them. Subſtance incorporeal (*g*) are words, which when they are joyned together deſtroy one another. I ſay again, (*h*) that to men that underſtand the ſignification of theſe words, ſubſtance and incorporeal, as incorporeal is taken, not for ſubtil body, but for not body, they imply a contradiction.

a Hum. Nat. *p.* 138
b Hum. Nat. *p.* 135
c Lev. *c.* 4. *p.* 17.
d Object. 9 *p.* 100. *Subſtantiæ eſt materia ſubjecta accidentibus, & mutationibus.*
e Lev. *c.* 5. *p.* 19.
f Lev. *c.* 11. *p.* 53.
g Lev. *c.* 34. *p.* 207.
h Lev. *c.* 34 *p.* 214.

Stud. This unbacked confidence in an argument of ſuch moment, provokes me to tell you, that you are as notorious in repeating, as thoſe Prieſts whom men of your perſwaſion are wont to

flout at, whilst they should rather have regard to the dulness of their common Audience: as also, that if all things twice said, or elsewhere written by you were picked out; your *Great Leviathan* would shrink to a little Scallop.

But to reason with you in your own way, I deny it, once and again, that the speech, Incorporeal Substance, either is or implies a contradiction, there's a bare Nay, of as good strength, as your naked affirmation, you have somewhere promised (*a*) to endeavor as much as you could, to avoid too happy concluding: but here you are so hasty, as to leap over all proper premises into such a conclusion, as is made only by a stiff and presumptuous will. But I will be content to answer also, that we forsake the usage of speech, when we confound the names of Body and Substance. The Logicians, who are at variance in other matters, consent in this, that a Substance is either material, or immaterial. If you resolve to fix a sence to the word, Substance, which hitherto all Custome (which is the Interpreter of Speech) ha's determin'd against; you usurp too great Authority. M. *Pomponius Marcellus* fear'd not to tell *Tiberius* the Emperor, who had us'd a word not truly Latin, in one of his Edicts; that (*b*) it was in his power to make Men, but not to make Words free of the City.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Do you understand (*c*) the connexion of Substance and Incorporeal? If you do, explain it in English; for the words are Latine. It is something, you'l say, that being without Body stands under —— stands under what? will you say under

(*a*) Hum. Nat. p. 2-3

(*b*) Sueton. de Illustr. Grammat. p. 23. in M. & M. Tu enim Cæsar Civitatem dare potes hominibus, verba non potes. Verbis seemeth the better reading.

(*c*) Mr. H. conf. p. 33.

under accidents? almoſt all the Fathers of the Church will be againſt you; and then you are an Atheiſt.

Stud. By avoiding the word, Subſtance, by which (in deſpight of general uſe) you will mean Body, your cavil vaniſheth: for if we ſhould uſe the terms of, οὐσία, Being, or Eſſence; affirming that God is a Being which neither is, nor ha's a Body, you will be of a very quick and ſagacious Noſe to ſmell out a contradiction in words ſo put together. For to Be, and to be without Body, are not terms which deſtroy each other. It might then be inferred, that all moral virtues and all Phyſical notions were names and nothing elſe. But I will admit of the word, Subſtance, and (which may ſeem a conceſſion with advantage) of the word, Matter, too, without any real prejudice to this Cauſe, for by Subſtance is frequently underſtood (as *Des-Cartes* himſelf, (*d*) who favour'd not the abuſe of words ha's phraſ'd it) Metaphyſic-Matter. That Matter is the ſubject about which our mind is converſant, whither it be a feigned notion, a name, a privation, or negation; for as *Plato* ha's obſerved, the Art of Reaſoning, handles, τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὄντως, Matters, which are not real, after the manner of Reals; and *Ariſtotle* (whom you are wont to cite when he may ſerve your occaſion) divideth (*a*) matter into intelligible and ſenſible; not meaning, as is manifeſt from his context, ſuch matter as is compoſed of imperceptible parts, but ſuch as I now deſcrib'd. *Cicero* (*b*) likewiſe calleth Indoles by the name of Matter.

But ſubſtance (you ſay) being conſtrued aright, doth

d *Reſp. ter-tiæ p. 94. Sub ratione ſubſtantiæ vel etiam ſi lubet, ſub ratione materiæ nempe Metaphyſicæ.*

a Ar. l. 8. *Met. c. 6. νοητὰ . . . αἰσθητά.*

b *In ver. Or. 8. l. 3. p. 203.*

doth signifie something that standeth under, under what, when ascrib'd to God? that's your smart question, it soundeth hastily to answer under Accidents, which are for the most part appurtenances to Body. But if I say, under Attributes (seeing the Anti-Remonstrants have of late allowed it for good Doctrin, that the Decrees of God are not the very essence of God;) (c) I am not for such an answer, so nigh the borders of Atheism (you should have said of Heresie) as you by your false prospective are ready to espie me. But to take away all occasion of further cavil about this name, Incorporeal Substance; I will at last refer you to the Law, towards which you pretend the profoundest reverence, submitting your very words at the Foot-stool of such Authority. If then a Substance signifieth Body; and every thing that is, be body; then is the first Article of the nine and thirty (which ha's as much validitie in Law, as the Kings Broad-Seal can give it, which I know you judge sufficient) an heap of absurd and inconsistent words, for, in that Article we are taught that there is but one Living and true God, Everlasting, without Body, Parts or Passions.

c *Vide Armin Ex. Thes. Gom. p.* 159. & *Gomar. Tom.* 3. *Disp.* 9.

Mr. *Hobbes.* To those Doctrins of the Church, which are made Law by the Kings Authority, I owe reverence; and have alwaies a will to pay it, in pursuance of which will, I have taught in my *Leviathan*, (d) and you your self a while since took notice of it, that to attribute Totality or parts to God, is not to honor him; you may likewise understand, that my opinion concerning God, sayes nothing of him, but that he is. Forasmuch (e) as God

d Lev. *part.* 2. *p.* 190.

e Hum. Nat *p.* 132

God Almighty is Incomprehenſible, it followeth, that we can have no conception or Image of the Deity, and conſequently all his Attributes ſignifie our inability and defect of power to conceive any thing concerning his Nature, and not any conception of the ſame, excepting only this, that there is a God. The Nature, I ſay, of God (*f*) is incomprehenſible; that is to ſay, we underſtand nothing of what he is, but only that he is; and therefore the Attributes we give him, are not to tell one another what he is, nor to ſignifie our opinion of his Nature, but our deſire to honor him with ſuch Names, as we conceive moſt honorable amongſt our ſelves. (*a*)

f Lev. c. 34 p. 208.

a S. Lev. p. 53. & p. 371. & Hum. Nat. p. 134 & H. conf. p. 31.

Stud. To this laſt effort of yours, there are divers things to be replyed; and in the firſt place, whereas you have ſaid that to attribute parts to God, is not to honor him; it follows then, that you, who would ſeem to mention his Nature with the higheſt degree of veneration, have notwithſtanding a moſt unworthy conceit of him, ſeeing to call him Body, is to caſt the reproach of having parts upon him. So that the character which *Cicero* gave of the Herd of *Epicurus*, will not be diſagreeable to the followers of a Phyloſopher whom you know very well; in words they affirm, but in truth they deny the Exiſtence of God (*b*).

b *Verbis quidem ponunt reipſa tollunt Deos.*

Again, whilſt in your opinion the Deity is ſo incomprehenſible, that you underſtand not any thing of his Nature; but profeſs to honor him at adventures, by ſuch tokens of eſteem as are in uſe with men: or by ſuch as imply our inability to conceive of him; the burthen of our holy Lord againſt

gainst the blind Zealots of *Samaria*, may be most justly taken up against you, who worship, you know not what? and to say that God is, and also that you apprehend not any attribute that properly appertaineth to his nature, is only to pronounce of God, as of an indefinite Name: for such is naked Being, strip'd and devested of all such attributes as are required to particularness or distinction of things. Tell me not now, (c) that though it be not possible for a man that is born blind, to have any imagination what kind of thing fire is, yet he cannot but know somewhat there is, that men call fire, because it warmeth him: for it is not to be concluded from that similitude, that all that will consider, may know that God is, though not what; he is for a Blind man warmed by the fire understandeth well, because he feeleth the true nature of it, which consisteth not in the colour or shining of it, but in that sensation which ariseth in him from his nerves touched by such of the more earthy parts of matter, as are put into vehement agitation. That God is incomprehensible in some sense, is acknowledged by all, who will not arrogantly suppose their minds, as infinite as God, but to say that we know not any thing of God, because we have not an adequate conception of him, is as absurd, as if a Navigator should affirm, that he knows nothing of the Sea, but that it is, because he cannot fathom the utmost depths of it. *Maimonides*, in the same place (d) acknowledgeth God to be incomprehensible, yet sheweth that he is incorporeal; and that something is to be known of him, besides his bare existence, because some men have better apprehensions concerning

(c) Hum. Nat. p. 133 Obj. 5. p. 97. Lev. c. 11. p. 51.

(d) More Nev. c. 59. part. 1. p. 98 99.

cerning God than others, who are equal with them in knowing that he is, we pretend not by ſearching, to find out God; to find out the Almighty to perfection, but after ſome imperfect degree of knowledge to apprehend his Nature, if this be denyed to the mind of man, after the moſt ſagacious ranging of it; and if the attributes, not only of incorporeal and Omnipotent, but alſo of good, and juſt, and holy, and true, be not ſome real ſtrokes of the divine Image, but only marks of honor in the ſocieties of men; then is it an impoſſible undertaking (ſo far will it be from the rule of Religion) to labor to imitate Him we worſhip, then are thoſe places to be blotted out of the holy Canon wherein 'tis written, That God is Love: that we muſt be holy, becauſe God is holy: that it behoveth us to be merciful (for the quality of our virtue) as our Father, who is in Heaven is merciful, than by affirming that God is good, or juſt, or holy, we cannot aſſure our ſelves, that we ſhall not by ſuch ſpeeches talk wickedly for God.

Mr. *Hobbes*. That (*e*) which men make amongſt themſelves here by Pacts and Covenants, and call by the name of Juſtice, and according whereunto men are accounted and termed rightly juſt or unjuſt, is not that by which God Almighties actions are to be meaſured or called juſt, no more than his Counſels are to be meaſured by humane wiſdome, that which he do's is made juſt by his doing of it, juſt I ſay, in him, though not alwayes juſt in us.

(*e*) *Lib. nect.* p. 21.

Stud. Of eternal reaſons of good and evil, we may

may discourse more pertinently, in our intended Disquisition touching the Law of Nature, and the obligation of humane Laws. Yet I cannot abstain from interposing here this short reply, that although the most incomprehensible God has not submitted all the Acts of his boundless wisdome to our narrow Judgements, yet for his Acts of justice and equity, he hath appealed to the reason of mankind; which therefore is an universal and eternal standard, and not made a just and equal measure, by the meer seal and allowance of humane authority. *O Inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge I pray you* (saith God Almighty) *betwixt me and my Vineyard!* (*f*) He also by the Prophet *Ezekiel* (*g*) maketh appeal to the faculties of mortal men, touching the equity of his dispensations. *Ye say the way of the Lord is not equal; hear now, O house of Israel! Is not my way equal? Are not your wayes unequal?*

f *Isa.* 5. 3, 4.

g *Ezek.* 18. 25, 29.

Mr. *Hobbes.* I am willing to dismiss this Argument for a time, and to re-assume it, as you propounded, in its more proper place. In the mean time, I will go on with my opinion, concerning the incomprehensible nature of God. It is (*b*) by all Christians confest, that God is incomprehensible; that is to say, that there is nothing can arise in our fancy from the naming of him, to resemble him, either in shape, colour, stature, or nature; there is no Idea of him. At (*i*) the venerable name of God, we have no Image or Idea of God; and therefore we are forbidden to worship God by an Image, lest we seem to our selves to conceive him, who is unconceivable.

h *Mr.* H. *Cons.* p. 31.

i Hobbii *Obj.* 5. p. 97

Chri-

Chriſtian Religion (*k*) obligeth us to believe that God is unconceivable, that is, as I underſtand it, ſuch a one of whom we have no Idea. And Reaſon teacheth, that becauſe (*l*) whatſoever we conceive, has been perceived firſt by ſenſe, either all at once, or by parts, a man can have no thought repreſenting any thing, not ſubject to ſenſe.

k *Obj.* 11. p. 102.

l *Lev.* c. 3. p. 11.

Stud. If God be a body, ſeeing man may have an image of extention, and of all the poſſible figures, which may be made by the varieties of extention in matter, what hindreth that we may not have, in your groſs way, an Image of God? But becauſe he is an immaterial ſubſtance, we cannot indeed have any bodily reſemblance of him; but there is in every man a power to have an Idea of him. For although it hath been ſaid that there have been found whole Nations (as in the Weſtern World in *Braſil*) who have liv'd without the leaſt ſuſpicion of an infinite Being, yet there is no Nation ſo very barbarous, wherein the Inhabitants have no faculty at all of exciting in them, this Idea of God. And here I cannot but reprehend it, as a very ſhamefull error, in a man who placeth truth in the right ordering of names, and pretendeth (*a*) to begin the ſciences, by ſetling at firſt the ſignifications of their words, to confound the names of *Image* and *Idea*, as if they were terms of equal importance. It is alſo an argument of thickneſs of mind, of a ſoul not yet advanced above the power of fancy, to ſay that no man hath, or can have any kind of conception without an Image, as if nothing were authentically

a *See Lev.* c. 4. p. 15.

ly

ly written upon the table of our minds, without a seal and sensible impression affixed to it. I conceive (said a very learned person) (*b*) that ease in this to be alike, as if whilest two men are looking at *Jupiter*, one with his naked eyes, the other, with a Telescope; the former should avow that *Jupiter* had no attendants, and that it were impossible he should have any. The reason why Mr. *Hobbes* denies immaterial Beings, whilest other men apprehend them, is, for that he looks at them with his fancy: they, with their mind. By Idea, is understood, not meerly a corporeal similitude, but any notion without imagery, and whatsoever occurreth in any perception: the very form of cogitation, whereby I become conscious to my self that I have perceived, is an Idea. And *Plato*, to whose School we owe chiefly this name of Idea, has expresly contended for a knowledge, soaring above the ken of fancy, and taught us, that the greatest and most glorious objects have no Image (*c*) attending on their perception. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*d*) in his admonition to the *Gentiles*, told them, with reference to their Idolatry, that the Christians had not any sensible image of sensible matter in their divine worship, but that they had an intelligible Idea of the only sovereign God. There is a great difference betwixt an object seen through a polished Chrystal, and a piece of painted Glass; and there is a far greater difference betwixt the Idea of God in a perspicuous mind, and the notion of a God taken through the pictures of Imagination. When we consider that all perfections that are, or can be thought of, by man a second cause, are more

b Ep. to R. before Phys. Essay.

c Plat. Polit. p. 181. τοῖς δ' αὖ μεγίστοις οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδωλον οὐδέν, &c.

d Clem. Al. Adm. ad Gent. p. 34. ἡμῖν δὲ, οὐκ ὕλης αἰσθητῆς ἀισθητὸν. νοητὸν δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα, &c.

more eminently to be ascribed to the first; and when we further conceive, that it is much better to have wisdom, power, truth, justice, goodness, than to want them, and that therefore they are, in any being, so many perfections; and when we thence indefinitely extend those perfections by the utmost stretch of our minds, we form aright, though not by way of adequate comprehension, such a true and pure Idea of God, as is not discoloured by corporeal phantasms. But because you move in the lower sphear of fancy, you must be satisfi'd in your own way, and be instructed through a corporeal image, or otherwise you will not admit of any Idea. The *Jews* of old were of that unreasonable temper, who although they had miracles wrought amongst them, exceeding great, great as their own unbelief, yet would not they be contented without a sign from Heaven, such as was that of the descent of *Manna*, to which that Nation had sometimes been more accustom'd. But if this should naturally be in others, as it seemeth accidentally to be in you, the effect of poring upon points, and lines, and figures; to conceive nothing without a bodily image, *Archimedes* and *Euclid* should as soon by me be condemned to the flames, as *Aretine*, and any of the *histoires Galantes*.

But because you stick in this lower Form of Imagination, I will therefore attempt to take you out such a lesson, as is most agreeable to you in that capacity.

Call to mind then, that you begin your natural Philosophy (*a*) from a feigned annihilation of the World, though you dwell not upon the notion

(*a*) *De corp.* c. 7. p. 67.

of empty space remaining, but straightway fill it with the phantasms of all such bodies, as before their supposed annihilation, you had perceived by your eyes, or any other instruments of sense. And I must note it by the way, that you except man only from this universal annihilation of things, and leave not God out of it, although his Idea implying necessary existence, the not retaining of him, be a contradiction. After this, you lay aside those phantasms, and (*b*) grant a conception of boundless space. You likewise maintain that body and space are not the same; and you conceive, though you do not assert, a *Vacuum*.

b *De corp.* p. 63.

Mr. *Hobbes*. No man (*c*) calls this phantasm, space, for being already filled, but because it may be filled; nor does any man think bodies carry their places away with them, but that the same space contains sometimes one, sometimes another body, which could not be, if space should always accompany the body which is once in it.— Place (*d*) is immoveable; for seeing that which is moved is understood to be carried from place to place, if place were moved, it would also be carried from place to place, so that one place must have another place, and that place another place; and so on infinitely, which is ridiculous. And for the conceit of *Vacuum*, I say (*e*) that though between two bodies there be put no other body, yet if there intercede any imagined space, which may receive another body, then those bodies are not contiguous. I suppose also (*f*) that a finite body, at rest, when all space besides is empty, will rest for ever.

c *De Corp.* ib. *Sect* 2.

d *Ib* c. 8 p. 77.

e *Ib.* p. 79. *Sect.* 9.

f P. 83. *Sect.* 19.

Stud.

Stud. Be it ſo. From hence it may be collected, that you conceive of ſpace, as of ſomething without your mind, into which you ſuppoſe no notion can come but from ſome outward object. You conceive it as ſomething, which doth exiſt betwixt two bodies, and hindreth the contiguity of them: for bodies are not therefore ſeparated, becauſe I ſo imagine; but becauſe they are not contiguous, I have an imagination of their diſtance, and of ſomething interceding. Seeing alſo you muſt acknowledge, that this Vacuity may be conceived, greater or leſs, you cannot imagine that as a meer nothing, which is capable of ſuch affections. You then by conſequence (though in direct terms you will not grant it) conceive this ſpace as a phantaſm of ſomething; yet not of body, ſeeing you have ſaid, one body may relinquiſh and another poſſeſs the ſame immoveable ſpace; whereby it follows, that you apprehend it as a phantaſm of ſuch a Being, as has largeneſs and penetration appertaining to it. Extend then your conception of this ſpace indefinitely; and remember that you conceive the world without any involution of body in body, placed in it; and that it may remain in your imagination after you have by fiction deſtroy'd the viſible world; and that the imagined ſpace is ſuch, as you cannot diſimagine; and obſerve at laſt, whether you have not attained in your own way, to ſome competency of fancying an infinite immaterial Being. For my ſelf I have been apt to think of ſpace, as a phantaſm of body, really exiſting; and becauſe I conceive this boundleſs extention, by you ſuppos'd an iniquity, as dull and unactive, and underſtand not how to deduce

from it, or apply to it, the moral perfections which appertain to the Idea of God; I therefore ſuſpend my ſentence. But the Argument preſſeth your ſelf, who diſtinguiſh the conceptions of ſpace and body, beyond the probability of a Rejoynder.

If you were much concerned for Authority, I would here ſuggeſt to you, that St. *Paul* affirms of God, that in him we live and move; and that it is ſaid by *Theophilus Antiochenus*, (*a*) as alſo by *Tertullian* (the Author whom you your ſelf celebrate, that God (*b*) is the Place of all Beings But touching the particular explication of ſuch ſayings, let every man abound in his own ſence.

a *Ad* Ant. *l.* 2 *p.* 81. αὐτός ἐστι τόπος τῶν ὅλων.

b Tert. *adv.* Prax. *p.* 503. *a.* &c.

And now having ſpun out this firſt Subject of our Diſcourſe, (concerning the Immateriality of God) into ſuch an undeſigned length, I remember no Concluſion leſs improper for the winding of it up (if it may ſtand with your good liking) than the Apoſtrophe of *Arnobius*, which may thus be rendred: (*c*) 'O thou greateſt and chiefeſt 'Creator of inviſible things! O thou inviſible Di-'vinity, never to be comprehended by the ſcanty 'compaſs of created minds! Thou art worthy, 'thou art truly worthy (if our unhallow'd 'mouths may preſume to mention that tranſcen-'dent worthineſs) to receive from every under-'ſtanding nature, never-ceaſing praiſe; to be pe-'titioned throughout our lives, (too ſhort alas 'for ſuch devotion) with the humbleſt proſtrati-'ons; for thou art the Firſt Cauſe, the Place and 'Space of Things, the foundation of the Univerſe, 'infinite, unbegotten, immortal, eternal, whom 'no corporeal Image can deſcribe, no circumſcrip-'tion can determine.

c Arn. *l.* 1. *p.* 17.

We

We have dwelt long on this first head; and it was necessary on my part to pursue it with such a copiousness: for if this foundation of the corporeity of all things had not been shaken, your superstructures would have become almost inexpugnable by Phylosophy. But this being rendred sandy and unsound, there will be the less work and strength required to the demolishing of those; and so in our proceeding, we may imitate (perhaps) the descent of heavy bodies, making the more hast, the further we go. I'm sure in our next Subject,

The holy Trinity; we cannot speak much, and well, it being a deep and revered mystery.

Mr. *Hobbes.* That Doctrine is entangled in words, whereby there is little said of it intelligibly. Hypostatical (*a*) is a name that signifies nothing, but is taken up, and learned by rote from the canting Schoolmen. The (*b*) doctrine of the Trinity, as far as can be gathered directly from the Scripture, is in substance, this, that the God who is alwayes one and the same, was the person represented by *Moses*; the person represented by his Son incarnate; and the person represented by the Apostles. The true God (*c*) may be personated; as he was, First, by *Moses*, who governed the *Israelites*, (that were not his, but Gods people) not in his own name, with *Hoc dicit Moses*, but in Gods name, with *Hoc dicit Dominus*. Secondly, by the Son of man, his own Son, our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, that came to reduce the *Jews*, and induce all Nations into the Kingdom of his Father; not as of himself, but as sent from

a *Lev. c.* 3. p. 21.

b *Lev. c.* 42 p. 268, 269

c *Lev. c.* 16 p. 82.

his Father. And thirdly, by the holy Ghoſt, or Comforter, ſpeaking and working in the Apoſtles; which holy Ghoſt was a Comforter, that came not of himſelf, but was ſent, and proceeded from them both. (*d*) *Moſes* and the Prieſts, (*e*) the Man Chriſt, and the Apoſtles, and the Succeſſors to Apoſtolical power, theſe three at ſeveral times did repreſent the perſon of God: *Moſes*, and his Succeſſors the High Prieſts, and Kings of *Judah*, in the Old Teſtament; Chriſt himſelf, in the time he liv'd on earth; and the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors from the day of *Pentecoſt*, to this day. God (*f*) is one perſon as repreſented by *Moſes*, and another perſon, as repreſented by his Son the Chriſt: for Perſon being a relative to Repreſenter, it is conſequent to plurality of repreſenters, that there be a plurality of perſons, though of one and the ſame ſubſtance.

d It is pl in from Lev. p. 210 214 215. that he means not a perſon by the H. G. but real. The voice of God in a dream. Gifts; the power of God working by cauſes to us unknown.

e Lev. c. 33 p. 204, 205

f Lev. p. 266.

Stud. You ſurprize me here with ſuch an explication of the Trinity, as has not been invented by any Heretick of the unluckieſt wit, for theſe ſixteen hundred years. And now I am guided after the manner of the multitude, whoſe curioſity leads them to ſee the deformed births and miſhapen effects of miſcarrying nature, rather than to contemplate the Maſter-pieces of the Creation: it is not ſo much the goodneſs, as the prodigiouſneſs of this novel doctrine, which enticeth me to conſider it. And in truth, this conception of a Trinity ſeems to me more a Monſter, than the head of *Cerberus*, (that is, death) it ſelf; which head would have been call'd four-fold, if the fourth part of the world (*America*) had been then diſcover'd:

ver'd: but this conception, as will by and by appear, may multiply it ſelf an hundred fold, and be rather a Century, than a Trinity. There is alſo in it this inconvenience, that before the dayes of *Moſes*, you muſt affirm one only natural perſon to have been in the divine nature.

Mr. *Hobbes.* There was but one from whence we may (*a*) gather the reaſon, why thoſe names, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in the ſignification of the Godhead, are never uſed in the Old Teſtament: for they are Perſons, that is, they have their names from repreſenting, which could not be, till divers men had repreſented Gods Perſon, in ruling, or in directing under him. Our Saviour (*b*) both in teaching and reigning, repreſenteth (as *Moſes* did) the perſon of God, which God, from that time forward, but not before, is called the Father.

a *Lev. c.* 42. *p.* 269.

b *Lev. c.* 41 *p.* 266.

Stud. Where is now your will to pay a reverence to the Law, by whoſe Authority you are taught, in the firſt Article of the Church of *England*, that there be three perſons, of one ſubſtance, power, and eternity. But you will ſay, that your *Leviathan* was publiſhed in thoſe dayes (*c*) when the King by your doctrine, was no King; when the Parliament having the ſupreme ſtrength, had for that very reaſon, (the reaſon which you give, and I may conſider in its aſſigned place) the ſovereign Right, by which they preferred their own Ordinances, and the Conſtitutions of the Aſſembly, to the Canons and Articles of the Convocation. And indeed you have told us in that

c *Anno* 1650.

Book, (*d*) 'that you ſubmitted in all Queſtions, 'whereof the determination dependeth on the 'Scriptures, to the interpretation of the Bible, 'authorized by the *Commonwealth*, whoſe Subject 'you were: that is to ſay, to the Annotations of the Aſſembly of Divines; wherein, no doubt, you might have read the Doctrine of an eternal Trinity aſſerted, ſeeing in their ſhorteſt Catechiſm, 'tis not omitted. But Law and Scripture (like the ſervants of an hard and ſelfiſh Maſter) are uſed by you, whileſt they have ſtrength to ſerve your purpoſe; but when you cannot work your deſign by them, they are caſt off with utter neglect.

(*d*) *Lev. p. 238. & H. Conf. p. 39.*

But to proceed; you your ſelf, together with the Law, have affirmed Jeſus to be God-man; (*e*) and *Arrius* granted to him a duration before the world; and *Euſebius*, who had ſome favour for the *Arrian* Doctrine, ſuppoſeth him often to have appeared before, and under the times of the Law. And a very late Writer, who has not fear'd, in his Rhapſodie of Eccleſiaſtick Stories, (*f*) to deny the Eternal God-head of Chriſt, hath yet maintained it to be very dangerous, to deny his Pre-exiſtence. There were then (and it follows from the ſenſe of your own confeſſion) at leaſt two natural perſons, of the Father and of Chriſt, before this world was founded.

(*e*) *Lev. p. 261 c. 45. Or Simeon was a man, whom we alſo believe to be God immortal.*

(*f*) *Sandius in Enucl. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 10. p. 229*

Further, if every one, repreſenting the Perſon of God, in ruling or directing under him, addeth a perſon to the God-head, then may it be thence concluded, (as *Enjedinus* ſpeaks (*g*) in relation to Pope *Alexander*, who would infer three perſons from the three Attributes of *Eecit*, *dixit*, *benedixit*,

(*g*) *G. Enjed. cont. Trin. p. 2.*

ndixit, at the beginning of *Geneſis*) that there are not only three, but ſix hundred. For all Civil Powers are Repreſentatives of the King of the Univerſe; and you your ſelf affirm, that any Civil Sovereign is Lieu-tenant of God, (*a*) and repreſenteth his perſon. To ſpeak with propriety, *Moſes* was rather a Mediator betwixt God and the People, who were under a Theocracy, and not a Sovereign on earth. And *Saul*, who was appointed them in the place of God, whom, in their unreaſonable wiſhes, (out of an apiſh imitation of the Heathen Models) they had depoſed, ſeems the firſt Perſon repreſenting God among the *Jews*. It is alſo to be noted, that the Apoſtles were Repreſenters, not ſtrictly of Gods Perſon, but of Chriſt God-man, from whom they received commiſſion, in his name, to teach and baptize, after all power was given to him. Wherefore the Biſhop of *Rome* has preſumed to call himſelf, rather falſly than improperly, the ſervant of the ſervants of God, and Vicar of Chriſt. But if you are not willing to multiply Perſons in the Godhead, by the number of Vicegerents, but chuſe to underſtand this three-fold repreſentation of a three-fold ſtate of People, under *Moſes*, Chriſt, and the Apoſtles, (which yet is an evaſion, not at all ſuggeſted by you) even by this artifice, you will not find a back door open, out of which you may eſcape. For beſides that the Apoſtolical times are but the continuation of the ſtate begun by Chriſt, and that the Reign of Chriſt at his ſecond coming, will be a ſtate perfectly new, we muſt remember, that there were two ſtates before the dayes of *Moſes*; the one to be computed from *Adam*, who in moſt

a *Lev. c.* 18 *p.* 89.

moſt eminent manner repreſented God, being appointed by him, Univerſal Monarch of the Earth: the other, from the Revelation made to *Abraham* who may be ſaid the firſt perſon, with whom God made a formal Covenant, Sealed by the Rite of Circumciſion, and by Promiſes guarded from violation.

Again, whereas you have affirmed that the names of Father and Son, in the ſignification of the God-head, are never uſed in the Old-Teſtament, therein you conſulted not your Concordance. For ſeeing Chriſt is called the Son, in the ſecond Pſalm, the cor-relative *Father* is as directly pointed out, as if the very name had in Capital Letters been written down. Neither do I here create by my Fancy (as is the manner of ſuch, who deal in Allegories of Scripture) a myſtical ſenſe; becauſe the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* (*b*) ha's expounded the words of our bleſſed Lord, and not of *David*. Saint *Matthew* likewiſe ha's made the ſame interpretation: if *Juſtin Martyr* was not deceived, either by his memory, or by oral Tradition, or a ſpurious Copy; for in ſtead of thoſe words from Heaven, (*c*) at the baptiſm of Jeſus, *This is my Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed*; he ha's in two places, (*d*) affirmed the voice to have been this, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.*

b Hebr. 1 5

c Matth. 3 17

d Juſt. Mart. *Dial. cum* Tryph. *p.* 316. *&* *p.* 331.

Mr *Hobbes*. Let us not labor any longer in (*e*) a particular ſifting of ſuch myſteries as are not comprehenſible, nor fall under any rule of natural Science For it is with the myſteries of our Religion, as with wholeſome Pills for the ſick, which

e Lev *c.* 32 *p.* 195.

which ſwallowed whole, have the virtue to cure; but chewed, are for the moſt part caſt up again without effect.

Stud. The danger, in my opinion, ariſeth not from the maſtication of the Phyſic, but from the indiſpoſed Stomach and Palate of the Patient, to whoſe health Religion conduceth more, when it is reliſhed by an uninfected Judgment, in the particular accounts of it; than when it is taken in the lump by an implicit faith which is a way agreeable, not to grown men, but to children in underſtanding, whom we cannot ſatisfie, and muſt not diſtaſt. But becauſe you ſeem not willing to intrude further into this myſtery of the God-head, conſidered in its ſelf and perſons, (which yet, as you would make it, is no more a myſtery, than if his Majeſty ſhould be called one Sovereign with three perſons, being repreſented by three ſucceſſive Lord Lieutenants of *Ireland*;) let us deſcend to the conſideration of the Godhead in its outward works; in which perhaps we may have ſurer footing; ſeeing Philoſophers, unaſſiſted by Revelation have diſcourſed much upon

Our third Head, the Creation of the World.

Mr. *Hobbes.* The queſtions about the magnitude of the World (*e*) (whether it be finite or infinite) or concerning its duration, (whether it had a beginning, or be eternal,) are not to be determined by Philoſophers. Whatſoever we know, that are men, we learn it from our phantaſms; and of infinite (whether magnitude or time) there is

e *De corp. c.* 26 *p.* 306, 307. *Sect.* 2.

no

no phantasm at all; so that it is impossible either for a man or any other creature, to have any conception of infinite.

Stud. You prove not here, that a man can have no conception, but only that he can have no image of an infinite Cause: whereas it ha's been already shewn, & may hereafter be evinced from the immateriality of Mans Soul, that all conceptions and Ideas, are not phantasms, or arise not from them. But whilst you plead the difficulty of conceiving an eternal being in reference to the Creation, you elsewhere (*f*) admit of an Idea, difficult enough; for you can feign in your mind that a point may swell to a great figure, such as that of Man (and this you say (*g*) is the only Idea which we have at the naming of Creator) and that such a figure may again contract it self into the narrowness of a point, hereby you admit of a natural phantasm of Creation out of nothing, as also of re-annihilation; for all the supposed points besides that first, which is just commensurate to so much space, can neither arise out of that one, nor shrink into it, and whereas you add that you cannot comprehend in your mind, how this may possibly be done in nature, (*h*) of which before you pranted a phantasm which ariseth from real impulse, if all be Body, it is as much, as if you had said, you can, and you cannot comprehend it. And I cannot but here admire it in a man who pretends to a consistency with himself, that you should allow the abovesaid phantasm, and yet reprehend it as principle void of sense, (*i*) and which a man at the first hearing, whether Geometrician or not

f *De Corp. c 8. p. 84 Sect. 20.*

g *Obj. 10. p. 101.*

h *De Corp. p. 84. ib.*

i *Epis. Ded. before six Less. p. 3.*

Geometrician

Geometrician muſt abhorr; (the which notwithſtanding the learned Lord *Bacon* did embrace) that the ſame Body without adding to it, or taking from it, is ſometimes greater and ſometimes leſſe. But to return to the conception of an eternal Cauſe, though it be not poſſible to have an Image of God, yet it is eaſie by the help of Reaſon, from the Images of things we ſee, to climb by degrees above the viſible World, to the eternal Creator of it. Curioſity or love of the knowledge of Cauſes, doe's draw a man (as you will grant) (*k*) from conſideration of the effect to ſeek the Cauſe; and again the cauſe of that Cauſe, till of neceſſity he muſt come to this thought at laſt, that there is ſome cauſe, whereof there is no former cauſe, but is Eternal, and is called God.

(*k*) Lev. c. 11. p. 51.

Mr. Hobbes. Though (*l*) a man may from ſome effect proceed to the immediate cauſe thereof, and from that to a more remote Cauſe, and ſo aſcend continually by right ratiocination from cauſe to Cauſe; yet he will not be able to proceed eternally; but wearied will at laſt give over, without knowing, whether it were poſſible for him to proceed to an end, or not.

(*l*) De Corp. c. 26. p. 307

Stud. We are not, as you imagine, wearied in this aſſent of our Reaſon, upon the ſeveral roundles of ſecond cauſes to that which is eternal, for we paſſe not through every ſingle cauſe and effect; but like thoſe who ſearch their pedigree no further, than their great great Grand-Father, yet ſay, they at firſt ſprung from *Adam*; we view ſome more immediate cauſes and effects, and conſider that there is the like reaſon of dependency, in

in the reſt and thence as it were, leap forwa
unto the top of this *Jacob's* Ladder, and arrive a
the acknowledgment of an eternal, immovable
Mover.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Though from this, that nothing
can move it ſelf, (*m*) it may rightly be inferred
that there was ſome firſt eternal Movent; yet it
can never be inferred (though ſome uſe to make
ſuch inference) that that Movent was eternally
immoveable, but rather eternally moved: for as
it is true that nothing is moved by it ſelf, ſo is it
true alſo, that nothing is moved, but by that which
is already moved.

(*m*) *De Corp. c. 26 p. 307*

Stud. Here you proceed not with ſuch conſiſtence and ſcrupulous ratiocination as becometh a Phyloſopher: for if nothing be moved by it ſelf, then to ſay an eternal Mover is moved, is to ſay, that that Eternal is not Eternal: for there is ſomething preſuppoſed to give it motion, and another thing foregoing and cauſing that motion, and ſo on, in *infinitum.* Yet you acknowledge in your Book (*n*) a firſt Power of all Powers: but at the preſent, your reaſoning is connected with your beloved notion of a corporeal Univerſe. For Matter can never move, but by that which is moved, and ſo forward, not to an eternal Cauſe, but in an endleſs Circle, which yet in ſome part muſt have had a beginning, for here the queſtion will return; how came the ſluggiſh Matter, which cannot help it ſelf, to have motion at firſt imparted to it? if there were not an eternal incorporeal ſelf-moving mind; wherefore you are, again, involved in the condemnation

(*n*) Hum. Nat. *p.* 13. Lev. *c.* 12. 53.

condemnation of the Epicureans, of whom *Cicero*, in his firſt *De Finibus* (o) ha's left this pertinent obſervation. There being two things to be inquired after in the nature of things, the one, what the Matter is out of which every thing is made; the other, what is the force or motion which doth every thing: the Epicureans have reaſoned concerning Matter, but the efficient Power is a part of phyloſophy which they have left untilled. So little of Reaſon in this Article of the Creation, is on the ſide of ſome men, who would monopolize that honorable name.

o *Cum in rerum naturâ duo ſint quærenda, unum, quæ materia ſit ex quâ quæque res efficiatur; alterum, quæ vis ſit, quæ quidque efficiat; de materiâ diſſeruerunt Epicurei; vim & cauſam efficiendi reliquerunt*

Mr. *Hobbes.* Natural Reaſon is not ſo much concerned in this queſtion, becauſe (p) ſo much cannot be known, as may be ſought, the queſtion about the beginning of the World is to be determined by thoſe that are lawfully authorized to order the worſhip of God, for as Almighty God when he had brought his People into *Judæa*, allowed the Prieſts the Firſt-Fruits reſerved to himſelf; ſo when he had delivered up the World to the diſputations of men, it was his pleaſure that all opinions concerning the nature of infinite and eternal, known only to himſelf, ſhould (as the Firſt-Fruits of wiſdom) be judged by thoſe, whoſe miniſtry they meant to uſe in the ordering of Religion. I cannot therefore commend thoſe that boaſt they have demonſtrated by reaſons drawn from natural things, that the World had a beginning.

p *De Corp.* p. 307.

Stud. Where find you the Supreme Civil Magiſtrate (for him you mean) to be conſtituted a Judge

Judge of true and falſe? then would the Truth be as inconſtant, as the Opinions of thoſe Powers; who being thronged with employments, have of all men, the leaſt room left for ſpeculation.

The Great Turk, who ha's made the *Alcaron* to be Law, ha's there affirmed, that two verſes in *Surata Vacca*, (*q*) were made by God Almighty, two thouſand years before the World was framed and written by his Finger; and all Chriſtian Princes, who determine the Bible to be the Word of God, have thereby determin'd, that ſuch Stories are abſurd Fables. If you had ſo ſtated the Power of Princes, as to have aſcribed a right to them, not (as you now have done) of determining queſtions (that is, of reſolving them into true negations or affirmations) but of reſtraining the tongues or pens of men, from venting what they eſteem inconvenient for Society; I know few men of my Order, who would with any vehemence have become your oppoſers, provided alwaies that this Power be meant of ſuch Opinions, as ſubvert not natural or Chriſtian Religion: for it is as neceſſary at all times to profeſſe ſuch Articles, as it is to make profeſſion that we are not Atheiſts; the neceſſity of which may hereafter be proved.

(*q*) Hotting. *Bibli. Orient. p.* 108, 109.

Mr. *Hobbes.* I have ſo done, as you require, I ſhould; for in my Letter to Dr. *Wallis*, (*r*) ſince his Majeſties return, I have upon ſecond thoughts reſtrained the deciſion of Authority to the publication and not the inward belief of Doctrine. I ſay, there that theſe opinions about the Creation, are to be judged by thoſe to whom God ha's committed the ordering of Religion; that is, to the Supreme

(*r*) *H. Conſid. p.* 36.

preme Governors of the Church; that is, in *England* to the King. By his Authority, I say, it ought to be decided, (not what men shall think, but) what they shall say in those questions.

Stud. In this question of the Creation, you seem too bountiful to Authority, seeing by your own confession, the affirmative is a point so very fundamental, that all natural Religion, if that be taken away, will fall to the ground; for in the Epistle before mentioned, (s) you doubt not to affirm, that, as for arguments from natural reason, no man has hitherto brought any one, except the Creation, to prove a Deity, that had not made it more doubtful to many men, than it was before. Wherefore it follows that whilst you attribute unto the Civil Magistrate a Right of binding men, if he shall so please, to profess this falshood, that the World had no beginning; you also ascribe unto the same Magistrate, a Right of banishing the Profession of a Deity out of his Dominions.

(s) *H. Conf. p. 34.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* Why do you (t) stile the King by the name of Magistrate? Do you find Magistrate to signifie any where the person that hath the Sovereign Power, and not every where the Sovereigns Officers?

(t) *H. Conf. p. 36.*

Stud. Although you are here guilty of an excursion, yet I am content to follow you, not being ignorant how soon you are out of breath in pursuing any Game started in Philology; And first, I will grant it to you, that if we have regard to the nicest application of the Word, at some times

amongſt the Romans, it will not ſo elegantly agree to the Supreme Power. For in the fourth Book of (*Cicero* (or rather *Cornificius*) ad *Herennium*, (*u*) the Magiſtrate is ſaid to be imployed in the execution of ſuch Decrees, as were made Law by the Senate: And I have read in *Varro* (*x*) that the Officers inferior to the *Magiſter Populi* or Dictator, and *Magiſter Equitum*, were by way of diminution call'd *Magiſtratus*; as from *Albus*, *Albatus*: and yet I am aſſured that *Cicero* ſometimes uſ'd the Word Magiſtrate in ſuch a ſenſe as derogates not at all from the ſuper-eminence of things; for in his third Book *De Legibus* (*y*) we have this ſentence; The Magiſtrate is a ſpeaking Law, and the Law is a mute Magiſtrate, and a while after, citing the words of the old Roman Law, he ſtileth the Conſuls, Magiſtrates, and the Office, Magiſtracy: and yet he ſheweth, that the Conſuls at firſt had Regal and Supreme Power.

u P. 2 9. Sect. 35. *Senatus officium eſt, conſilio Civitatem juvare, Magiſtratus officium eſt, operâ & diligentiâ conſequi voluntatem Senatus.*

x *De Linguâ Lat. l. 4. p. 15. Sect. 14.*

y Cic. *l. 3. de Leg. p. 1304.*

But ſeeing Cuſtome ſince the dayes of *Cicero*, ha's otherwiſe applyed divers words; and ſeeing that from a diverſe adminiſtration of affairs, and from new inventions, and other cauſes, there have ariſen new words alſo; thoſe perſons who will preciſely ſpeak, with *Cicero* and the old Romans (every of whoſe words and phraſes, cannot be thought extant in the fragments now in our hands;) they rather betray their own affectation, than declare themſelves Maſters of Propriety of Language; whilſt *Caſtalio* uſeth *Jova*, *Tinctio*, *Genius*, *Sancte colatur*; inſtead of *Jehovah*, *Baptiſmus*, *Angelus*, *Sanctificetur* (which word by the favor of ſo great a Critic, is not avoided by (*z*) *Cicero* himſelf) he ſeems to ſtudy rather niceneſs,

z Cic.

than

than true cleanneſs of Latine. The word Magiſtrate is not forced, when it is uſed in expreſſing the Supreme Power; for *Magiſterare* in *Feſtus* (*a*) is glolſed by *Regere*. Your own Champion *Tertullian* (who well knew how to ſpeak, with the Laws) interprets (*b*) ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ by *Magiſtratus*: and ἄρχων denoteth ſometimes ſo great a Power, that it is ſpoken of the very Prince (*c*) of the Powers of the Air; that learned Perſon had in the aboveſaid place an Eye to the Government of the Athenians, which after the ſucceſſion of Kings failed at the death of *Codrus*, was adminiſtred by Thirteen Magiſtrates called Ἄρχοντες, of which the firſt was *Medon*. Cavil not now at the number of theſe Rulers; for how many ſoever the perſons are in ſuch a Senate, the Supreme Authority (*d*) is but one.

If you require modern Authority, the Teſtimony of *Hugo Grotius* is beyond juſt exception, for he acknowledgeth, that *Summus Magiſtratus* (*e*) is uſed commonly in denoting the Sovereign Power, although he approves not of it for exact Roman, and nice Latinity. Laſtly, Magiſtrate is a word, in the ſenſe in which I uſe it, uſed alſo in the Law of King and Church, with which we Engliſhmen are to ſpeak, rather than with the Twelve Tables, or the Prince of Orators. Recall then to your mind the thirty ſeventh Article of the Faith profeſſed in *England*; that Article, though it conſiſteth in declaring the Power of the King, in affairs both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, yet bears the Title, *Of the Civil Magiſtrate.*

But I have buſied my ſelf too long in a nicety of words, which improve the memory, but give

a *De Verb. ſig. p.* 308.

b *Tert. adv. Hermog. p.* 240. *Sect.* 19.

c *Epheſ.* 2. 2. *ſee Rev.* 1. 5.

d *Lev. p.* 89 *Man. or Aſſembly of men, having the Sovereignty.*

e Hugo Grot. *de Imp. ſum Pot. circa ſacra. p.* 2. *c.* 1.

not much advantage to the nobler faculty of reason. It is time then, that we look back upon our main Subject, the Creation of the World. If you have any further matter to deliver, in relation to that Subject, I am ready to attend to you and it.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Something I have to say, but there is little coherence of it, with our former discourse. I add however, (seeing you seem to have required something more) that upon supposition of the Being of a God, it follows not that he created the World. (*f*) Although it were (*g*) demonstrated, that a Being infinite, independent, omnipotent did exist; yet could it not rightly be thence inferred, that a Creator do's exist also. Unless a man should think, that because there is a Being, which we believe to have created all things, therefore the World was created by Him.

(*f*) *V. de Obj. 5. p. 97. in conclus.*

(*g*) *Obj. 10. p 101. De Corp. c. 26. p. 307.*

Whether we suppose the world to be finite, or infinite, no absurdity will follow.

Stud. Seeing dependent nature is so far removed from a power of making, that it cannot so much as move it self, but will, if once moved, be without impediment in perpetual motion; and are alwayes, if once at rest, without fresh impulse from some neighboring body; we must of necessity have recourse to a Creator: and because we suppose already in the Idea of God, such infinite Power, as excludes the like power from all things else; it cannot but follow, that there being a World He was the Maker of it. Seeing by the Hypothesis, the impotent World exists, and an infinite power also; who else can be imagined this Omnipotent Architect?

The

This abſurd Aſſertion puts me in mind of *Heraclitus*, who having denied that any of the Gods were Creators, ſubjoyned alſo, that neither had any man created the world; fearing (ſayes *Plutarch*, in a dry jeſt) leſt after he had overthrown the power of the Deities, we might ſuſpect ſome mortal man had been the Author of ſuch a Maſterpiece. The like conſequence is natural from the attribute of divine wiſdome, which being infinite, can appertain but to one Eſſence. If then the world be made in number, and weight, and meaſure, it is demonſtrable from thence, both that there is (*h*) an eternal Geometer, as alſo that if ſuch a one exiſteth, the world, which could not ſo frame it ſelf, was his Artifice. And doubtleſs, the diſpoſition of the parts of the greater world, and even the œconomy of the parts of the leſſer, that of man, implying moſt wiſe deſigns, do neceſſarily inferr (*Gaſſendus* himſelf (*i*) confeſſingit) the Being of a Creator. We need not ſearch further, than to ſome one particular Note in the ſituation of the heart, which is a kind of Box containing many wonders one within another. It is to be obſerved, (*k*) that in man, and in almoſt all ſuch Animals as live of fleſh, that the ſituation of the heart is not in the center, but in the ſuperior part of the Body, that it may the more readily convey to the head a due portion of bloud. For ſeeing that the traject̃ion and diſtribution of the bloud, dependeth wholly upon the Syſtole of the heart, and that the liquor caſt forth, does not ſo eaſily aſcend, as it flows into veſſels paralel or inferior; if the ſeat of the heart were more removed from the head, the head would be rendred

h *Mirab. Pecci. p. 8. Laudamuſq; tuam, Æterne Geometer, Artes.*

i Gaſſ. *in l* 10 Diog. Laert. *p.* 696.

k D. Lower *de Motu cordis. p.* 2,3.

impotent for want of bloud, unleſs the heart were framed with a far greater ſtrength, whereby it might, with more potent violence, force up its liquor. But in ſuch Animals, whoſe neck is extended by nature, as it were, on purpoſe to meet their proviſions, the heart is placed without any prejudice, in the center; becauſe the head being frequently pendulous, the bloud runs to it in a wide and daily ſupplyed Channel. Go now (that I may beſpeak you in the way of *Gaſſendus*) (*l*) and applaud your wit, in ſaying that that was done by chance, which could not have been more wiſely contrived.

l Gaſſ. *ubi ſupra. I nunc, & dic caſu id factum, quod non potuit ſapientius fieri.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* In this Argument, I my ſelf, in my Book *de Homine*, have not denied the frame of nature to argue deſign; and I have there ſpoken to this purpoſe.

Stud. Pleaſe to ſpare the Tranſlation of the place, for there is (as I remember) a conceit in the words, which will be loſt in Engliſh.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Mock on; I am not aſhamed of the words; and they are theſe: (*a*) *Adſenſu procedo: ſatis habens, ſi hujuſmodi res attigero tantum, planiùs autem tractandas aliis reliquero; qui ſi machinas omnes tum Generationis tum Nutritionis ſatis perſpexerint, nec tamen eas à Mente aliqua conditas ordinataſq; ad ſua quaſq; officia viderint, ipſi profectò ſine Mente eſſe cenſendi ſunt.*

a *De Hom. c.* 1 *p.* 4.

Stud. Seeing thus much is acknowledged from you, in reference to the Body; how great may

that

that conviction be (of the existence of a Creator) which ariseth from the consideration of Souls and Angels; whilest Thought is much more admirable than motion, and incorporeal spirit, than matter.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Incorporeal Substance is (*b*) a note which you shake too too often; and here, with much absurdity: For, to say, (*c*) an Angel or Spirit is an incorporeal substance, is to say, in effect, there is no Angel or Spirit at all. The Universe (*d*) being the aggregate of all bodies, there is no real part thereof that is not also body. The substance of invisible Agents (*e*) is by some conceived, to be the same with that which appeareth in a dream, or in a looking-glass, to them that are awake. But the opinion, that such Spirits were incorporeal, could never enter into the mind of any man by nature: However, that name will serve our purpose, for the Introduction of the

b *Answ. to Pref. to Gondibert p.87.*
c *Lev. c.34 p.214.*
d *Lev. c.34 p. 207.*
e *Lev. c.12 p.53.*

Fourth Head of our Discourse, *The Nature of Angels.*

Stud. To requite your Quibble; that Note of Incorporeal Angel ought not to have offended your purged ears, seeing the old Philosophers thence derived the harmony of the celestial Orbs. But to be in good earnest; you seem, by denying Intelligencies or Incorporeal Angels, not only to contend with those despised Philosophers, but to encounter almost the whole world.

(f) *Hum. nat. c. 11. p. 138, 139.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* It is true, (*f*) that the Heathens, and all Nations of the World, have acknowledged that there be Spirits, which for the most part they hold to be Incorporeal; whereby it might be thought, that a man by natural reason may arrive, without the Scriptures, to the knowledge of this, that Spirits are; but the erroneous collection thereof by the Heathens may proceed from the ignorance of the Causes of Ghosts and Phantasms, and such other apparitions: that is to say, (*g*) from the ignorance of what those things are, which are called *Spectra*, Images that appear in the dark to children, and such as have strong fears, and other strange imaginations.

(g) *Hum. nat. p. 138. Sect. 5.*

(h) *Lev. c. 34 p. 211, 212*

By (*h*) the name of Angel, is signified generally a Messenger; and most often, a Messenger of God; and by a Messenger of God, is signified any thing that makes known his extraordinary presence; that is to say, the extraordinary manifestation of his Power, especially by a Dream, or Vision.

That Angels are Spirits, is often repeated in Scripture; but by the name of Spirit, is signified both in Scripture, and vulgarly, both amongst *Jews* and *Gentiles*, sometimes thin bodies, as the Air, the Wind, the Spirits vital, and animal, of living Creatures; and sometimes the Images that rise in the fancy in Dreams and Visions, which are not real substances, nor last any longer, than the dream or vision they appear in; which Apparitions, though no real substances, but accidents of the brain; yet when God raiseth them supernaturally, to signifie his will, they are not unproperly termed Gods Messengers, that is to say, his Angels.

And

And as the *Gentiles* did vulgarly conceive the imagery of the brain, for things really ſubſiſtent without them, and not dependent on the fancy, and out of them framed their opinions of *Dæmons*, good and evil; which becauſe they ſeemed to ſubſiſt really, they called ſubſtances; and becauſe they could not feel them with their hands, incorporeal. So alſo the *Jews* upon the ſame ground, without any thing in the Old Teſtament that conſtrain'd them thereunto, had generally an opinion (except the Sect of the *Sadducees*) that thoſe Apparitions (which it pleaſed God ſometimes to produce in the fancy of men, for his own ſervice, and therefore called them his Angels) were ſubſtances not dependent on the fancy, but permanent Creatures of God; whereof thoſe which they thought were good to them, they eſteemed the Angels of God, and thoſe they thought would hurt them, they called evil Angels, or evil Spirits; ſuch as was the Spirit of *Python*, and the Spirits of mad men, of Lunaticks and Epilepticks: for they eſteemed ſuch as were troubled with ſuch diſeaſes, *Dæmoniacks*.

But if we conſider the places of the Old Teſtament, where Angels are mentioned, we ſhall find, that in moſt of them, there can nothing elſe be underſtood by the word, Angel, but ſome Image, raiſed (ſupernaturally) in the fancy, to ſignifie the preſence of God, in the execution of ſome ſupernatural work; and therefore in the reſt, where their nature is not expreſt, it may be underſtood in the ſame manner. Concerning Spirits, (*a*) which ſome call incorporeal, and ſome corporeal, it is not poſſible, by natural means only, to come

(*a*) *Hum. nat. p.* 136.

to

to knowledge of ſo much, as that there are ſuch things.

Stud. Touching the incorporeal nature of Angels, I will evince the neceſſity of it, by proving (when we come to examine the nature of mans Soul) that matter is not capable of Cogitation. At preſent, I will conſider your two Aſſertion now delivered; that the exiſtence of Angels, as permanent ſubſtances, is not to be collected from natural Reaſon; and that the Writings of the Old Teſtament ſpeak not in favour of ſuch Doctrine.

Concerning the firſt, it is wont to be ſaid, that ſtrange preſages of mind, and warnings in dreams; wonderfull effects in men ſnatch'd away, and mountains and buildings removed and demoliſhed, by power inviſible; real apparitions to many men at once; predictions of Oracles; confeſſions and exploits of Wizards, and Witches, do by natural argumentation, prove the exiſtence of Angels: as alſo that theſe are apt inſtruments, to beget terrour in the minds of wicked men, in order to their ſpeedy reformation.

b *Lev. c 6. p. 26.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* I know, that from fear (*b*) of Power inviſible, feigned by the mind, or imagined from Tales publickly allowed, ariſeth Religion; not allowed, Superſtition.

Stud. If theſe be meer Tales, the publick allowance of them cannot make them to become Religion. For God, being infinitely powerfull and wiſe, refuſeth to be ſerved by the effects of folly

ſolly and ignorance; neither ſtandeth he in need of pious frauds and ſtratagems, wherewith to bring to paſs his holy deſigns; for they are arguments of impotency in thoſe who uſe them, and the truths of Religion appear moſt genuine, when there is due trial made of them, by expoſing them to the light. But if theſe things which I have mention'd, be Tales and Fables, (all thoughts of which do often ſhake the higher Powers, who are ſaid to feign them) then the faith, almoſt of mankind, is call'd in queſtion; and the moſt knowing perſons are accuſed of credulity or impoſture. Theſe Stories have not been meerly believed by children, and ſhort-ſighted people, but by *Socrates*, *Plotinus*, *Syneſius*, *Dion*, *Joſephus*, *Pomponatius*, *Cardan*, and (his Tranſcriber) *Cæſar Vanine*, and divers others, not ideots in Philoſophy, nor yet ſome of them zealots in Religion. *Cardan*, a man who would ſpeak liberally of himſelf, not diſſembling his very follies and vices, has, in his Life written by his own hand, (*a*) ſpent an whole Chapter, in diſcourſing about his good Genius; and therein he inſiſteth upon ſuch evidences, as made it manifeſt to him that his Imagination did not impoſe upon him. He alſo foretold (*b*) the year, and day of his death; which, becauſe ſome will not allow to have been done by skill, they have ſaid, that by ſtarving his body, he effected it, becoming a ſelf-deſtroyer, to gain the reputation of a Prophet. If there may exiſt ſuch Inhabitants of the air, (and there is nothing in nature, which doth hinder ſuch Beings, more than it doth the exiſtence of underſtanding creatures upon earth; and there is reaſon enough to per-

a Card. de vitâ prop. c. 47 p. 268

b Thuan. ad Ann. 1576. p. 136.

perſwade us that all Regions of the Univerſe are ſome way peopled) why ſhould it then ſeem incredible, that they ſometimes beſtow a Viſit upon mortal men. Were all Body and Matter, the air, as well as earth might be folded into ſhapes, which think, and direct their motions at pleaſure. Although ſome Stories are hatch'd in Chimney-corners, or in the diſturbed imaginations of fearfull people, and are told by ſuch as love to hear themſelves talk, and to be believed, and are of eaſie confutation; it followeth not thence, (though it be the common reaſon) that all are fables. Then, as is uſually ſaid, all Hiſtories would be condemned, becauſe there is ſuch a vaſt crowd of Romances, which multiply with the number of idle and ſenſual perſons; and your *Thucydides* would fall into the diſ-repute of *Amadis de Gaule*. I could tell of one, who wearing good Cloathes, and denying the exiſtence of real Wizards and Witches before vulgar Judges, and by ſtaying in his Chamber from Church, procured, amongſt the people, the eſteem due to a man of a ſhrewd head-piece, and one that ſaw behind the Curtain; though I am well confirmed, that his ignorance was the Mother, and his lazineſs the Nurſe of his in-devotion.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Necromancy, Witch-craft, charming, and conjuring, (the Liturgy (*a*) of Witches) is but (*b*) juggling, and confederate knavery. The Prieſts (*c*) at *Delphi*, *Delos*, *Ammon*, were Impoſtors; the Leaves of the *Sybils*, (the Fragments of which ſeem to be the invention of later times) and the Propheſies of *Noſtradamus*,

a *Lev. p. 54*
b *Lev. c. 32. p. 56.*
c *Ibid. more at large.*

ſtradamus, are from the ſame Forge.

Stud. For the *Sybils*, the learned D. *Blondel* has not ineffectually caſt away his ſtudies, in relation to my ſelf. Concerning Oracles, although I underſtand by divers Authors, and particularly by your *Thucydides*, (*d*) that they gave ſome Anſwers dubious, and others falſe, and divers true, but ſuch as a prudent man might have return'd, out of deep inſight into civil affairs; yet, without a ſuſpicion of antient *Hiſtorians*, too uncharitable, I cannot prevail upon my mind to think, that the Prieſts had no aſſiſtance from *Dæmons*. I know not what other judgement to make of the Anſwer, which the *Pythia* (*e*) gave to *Cræſus*; an inſtance, to which you cannot be a ſtranger. He enquir'd at *Delphos*, touching the proper means for the looſning the tongue of that beloved Son of his, who was apt for every thing, beſides ſpeech. The *Pythia* returned anſwer, that there was no great reaſon for his ſolicitouſneſs about the dumbneſs of the Child, ſeeing when he ſhould firſt ſpeak, the hour would be unhappy to his Father. The event was agreeable to the prediction, his Son firſt crying out, when *Sardis* being taken, *Cræſus* was ready to fall by the inglorious hand of a common *Perſian*. I could, if you requir'd it, produce ſtrange Inſtances, in times not ſo remote from our own; a good while after the coming of our Lord; notwithſtanding that you have aſſerted, (*f*) that in the planting of the Chriſtian Religion, the Oracles ceaſed in all parts of the *Roman* Empire. *Marcellinus* would have un-deceiv'd you; and even *Julian* the Apoſtate, who in his works,

(*d*) See Thucyd. p. 68, 77, 82, 113, &c.

(*e*) Herod. Clio. p. 39.

(*f*) Lev. c. 12. p. 59.

works, is frequent in the mention of preſent Oracles; and particularly, in an Epiſtle to *Maximus* the *Cynic*, (*g*) (which being private, and to a Philoſopher, doth argue, that he wrote as he believ'd) He there tells *Maximus*, (who was brought into ſome danger under *Conſtantius*) that he had conſulted the Gods concerning his eſtate, being far diſtant from him, and ſolicitous for his welfare; and that he could not do it, in perſon, but by others, not be able to hear immediately, as he ſuſpected, ill tidings of his Friend: as likewiſe, that the Oracle had return'd anſwer, that the Philoſopher was in ſome trouble, but not preſſed with ſuch extremity, as giveth unnatural counſell.

g Jul. *Apoſt. op. p.* 181. *Epiſt.* 38.

Touching *Michel Noſtradamus*, Phyſician in Ordinary to *Henry* the Second of *France*, I have read his Centuries, with very little edification. Yet, when I remember, that in ſixty ſix, I beheld *London* in the Flames, I know not how to deſpiſe that *Stanza* of his, (*a*) which, if it has not ſatisfied our reaſon, I'm ſure it has aſtoniſhed the imaginations of many. But whether he ſpake the words, and we contriv'd the ſenſe, I leave under debate. But be theſe things as they will; this I am enough confirmed in, that ſuch, as publickly deny Witch-craft, are ſawcy affronters of the Law, and therefore, for their opinion, which rather eſtabliſheth irreligion, than ſubverts the faith, they ought to be chaſtiz'd from thoſe Chairs of Juſtice, which they have reproachfully ſtain'd with the bloud of many innocent and miſ-perſwaded people.

a *Cent.* 2. *p.* 20 *Quart.* 51. *Le ſang du juſte à Londres fera faute, Bruſlez par foudres de vingt trois les ſix*, &c.

Mr. *Hobbes*.

Mr. *Hobbes.* As for Witches, (*b*) I think not that their Witch-craft is any real power; but yet that they are juſtly puniſhed for the belief they have, that they can do ſuch miſchief, joyned with their purpoſe to do it, if they can.

b *Lev. c.2. p.7.*

Stud. I have heard it elſewhere ſaid, (*c*) that our Witches are juſtly hang'd, becauſe they think themſelves ſo; and ſuffer deſervedly for believing they did miſchief, becauſe they mean it.

c *Dram. Poeſ. p.4.*

But methinks, that Law were to be acculed of unreaſonable ſeverity, which ſhould take away the life of thoſe, knowingly and deliberately, who before they make confeſſion of their inefficacious malice, are in no ſort hurtfull to the Commonwealth, which is not concerned in our thoughts; and when they make confeſſion, not of any evil practices, but of their deluſions of diſtemper'd fancy, appear to be poſſeſſed with madneſs rather, than a *Dæmon*, and ought rather to be provided for in *Bedlam*, than executed at *Tyburn*. But could we grant it to be a piece of juſtice; yet would that evaſion be too thin to ſhelter thoſe from the cenſure of the Law, who (as I think) do moſt inſolently revile it, by denying all real confederacy with *Dæmons*. For the Statute of King *James*, (*d*) whom you ſomewhere honour with the attribute of *moſt wiſe*, (*e*) condemns to death only ſuch Authors of Enchantment and Witch-craft, as are convicted of real effects: And it is not felony without Clergy, (though it be impriſonment, with ſhame of the Pillory) to attempt to tell of ſtollen goods, or to deſtroy or hurt mans body by Conjuration. The Statute alſo men-

d 1 Ja. c 12.

e *Lev. c. 19 p. 101.*

mentioneth the making Covenants with ſome evil and wicked Spirit, as a practice granted and notorious.

But paſſing from the Law of our Sovereign, to that of *Moſes*, let us

Secondly, Conſider, Whether thereby you are not alſo condemned, in the Article of the permanent ſubſtances of Angels.

It is thought by learned men, that *Moſes* and the Prophets had ſo conſpicuouſly taught the Being of Angels, (*a*) that the very *Sadducees* denied not abſolutely the exiſtence of ſuch Spirits, but their natural Being and duration; conceiving, by their appearing and diſappearing on a ſudden, that God had created them, upon account of ſome extraordinary Embaſſie, and the ſervice being done, reduced them to their firſt nothing.

a *See Epiſcop. Juſt. Theol. l. 4. c. 2. p. 347.*

The Old Teſtament deſcribes Angels by ſuch Offices, of ſtanding before the Throne of God, and miniſtring perpetually to the Favourites of God, (*b*) as ſhew, at once, their unfancied exiſtence, and their permanency. It were a voluminous labour, to write each Authority in the old Law; and it were alſo a ſuperfluous one, ſeeing the bare inſtances of *Lot* and *Abraham* are ſo pregnant with evidence, that no reaſon can overthrow it, though a boiſterous impudence may turn it aſide.

b *See Dan. 7. 10. Pſ. 34. 7. Pſ. 68. 17. Pſ. 91. 11, 12. comp. with Mat. 4. 6. & Luk 4. 10.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* Why (*c*) may not the Angels that appeared to *Lot* (*d*) — be underſtood of Images of men, ſupernaturally formed in the fancy? — That (*e*) to *Abraham*, was alſo of the ſame nature, an Apparition.

c *Lev. c. 34 p. 212.*
d *Gen. 19.*
e *Lev c. 36 p. 227.*

Stil.

Stud. The Angels ſent to *Lot* were not meer Phantaſms, for the Texts ſeems as much an hiſtorical Relation, as any paſſage in the Acts and Monuments of Gods Church; the very Hiſtory of the Paſſion ſcarce excepted. And in truth you have bidden very fair towards a phantaſtical Croſs, by affirming our Saviour to have been (*f*) tempted in a Viſion. Were that true, it would be but a faint encouragement, which the Author to the *Hebrews* (*g*) thought a ſufficient motive to animate our hopes in the day of the ſpiritual battel; to conſider with our ſelves that our Saviour imagined himſelf to be tempted, and therefore will ſuccour us that are really tempted. *Scultetus* (*h*) was (*i*) betray'd into this error by his miſtake of the *Greek* word rendred a Pinacle; having read, it ſeems, in *Joſephus*, that the Pinacles of the Temple were ſo very ſharp, as not to ſuſtain a bird without piercing its feet. Whereas πτερύγιον, ſignified a *Battlement* of the Temple, a ſupport eaſie and ſufficient; on which Saint *James* the Juſt was placed, and thence by the violence of bloody men, was thrown down headlong. And for your ſelf, you fell into this conceit, by being ignorant, or by not conſidering (*k*) that ἡ γῆ doth often ſignifie, not the whole World, but the Land of *Paleſtine*, the whole glory of which might, as in a map be ſeen, in the places, at and about *Jeruſalem*. But to return (if this be a digreſſion from our buſineſs in hand) to the Inſtance of *Lot*. It is to be noted that not only *Lot*, but all his Family, and likewiſe divers of the impure

(*f*) *Lev. c.* 45. *p.* 354.

(*g*) *Heb* 2. 18.

(*h*) *In delic. Evang.*

(*i*) See *Deut.* 22. 8.

(*k*) *Lev.* ib. — *No Mountain high enough to ſhew him one whole Hemiſphere*

Sodomites, at the ſame time, beheld the Angels. There were alſo ſuch effects, concomitant and remaining (ſuch as were amongſt the reſt, Striving and Blindneſs) as do manifeſt that the Angels were real, and ſubſtantial Meſſengers. But if it ſhall be ſaid, that this whole affair was acted, meerly in the ſcene of Imagination; it will thence follow, by a conſequence bold and impure, as the very ſin of *Sodom*, that God Almighty infus'd into the *Sodomites* ſuch bewitching Images, as were proper to enkindle in them unnatural Luſts, and then condemn'd them to their darkneſs for purſuing ſuch Fancies as were his own Off-ſpring.

The Angels that appear'd to *Abraham*, outwent the power of Fancy, feaſting themſelves upon real food, and not being entertain'd as at an Imaginary Banquet of Witches.

Now, for the New Teſtament, to collect the ſeveral places, were with *Samſon*, to multiply heaps upon-heaps. That divers mention'd under the name of *Demoniacks*, in the Scripture, were men diſturbed by Melancholy, and poſſeſs'd with the falling-ſickneſs, is not denied by me; and hath been publickly aſſerted (*a*), long ſince, by a very eminent Divine, but to conclude that all were ſuch, is to do violence to the holy Text, and our own Reaſon in the interpretation of it; and thereby to render our ſelves as mad as the perſons we diſcourſe of. It ſoundeth untowardly to ſay, that Epilepſies and Phrenſies (*b*) ſhould beg leave of Chriſt to go into ſwine; and being caſt out or cured, (that is annihilated, as ſuch, by the change of figure

a Mr. *Mede book* 1. *f.* 37, 38, 39. *fol.*

b *f. Mat.* 8 28, *to* 32.

figure and motion in the veſſels, blood, and humours) ſhould after this, be able to enter into the herd, and to hurry them into ſwift deſtruction.

Yet, of Poſſeſſions there may be room for ſcruple in many caſes; and *Galen* mentions a Diſeaſe, under the horrid name of *Δαιμόνιον*, as I have learnt from *Peter Martyr*, in his Diſcourſe upon the Melancholy of *Saul*. But touching the exiſtence of Angels, there is no place left for the Sceptick, in the Goſpel.

The Diſciples (c) ſeeing our bleſſed Lord, when he walked upon the Sea, ſuppoſed him to be an Angel. They would not hereby mean a Phantaſm, becauſe he was ſeen by many of them at the ſame time, whoſe differing fancies and motions of brain, cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed in this juncture, to have conſpir'd. And therefore I cannot commend that interpretation of *Epiſcopius* (d), which he made upon a paſſage in St. *Luke* (e); conceiving that Chriſt, ſurprizing the Diſciples after his Reſurrection, was judg'd, at firſt, by them a meer ſpectre, and not a ſpiritual eſſence; it being utterly improbable that the ſame Spectre, or Phantaſm ſhould ariſe, at the ſame time, in the brains of all the eleven, without ſome outward object diſpenſing its influence to them all.

c *Mat.* 14. 26.

d *Epiſcop. Inſt. Theol.* p. 347.

e *Luk.* 24. 33, 34.

Go now, and ſay, that the Apoſtles were not men of ſo clear an apprehenſion, in this matter, as your ſelf, being ſmutted with the dark doctrine of *Dæmonologie* amongſt the *Greeks*. But what evaſion is ſufficient, when

you read the Hiſtory of the Deliverance of St. *Peter*? Concerning whom the Spirit of God affirmeth expreſly (*a*) that it was done, not in a Viſion, but by the real efficacy of an Angel, commiſſioned by God.

a *Act.* 12. 9 *And he went out and followed him, and wiſt not that it was true which was done by the Angel; but thought he ſaw a viſion.*

b *Lev. c.* 34 *p.* 214. Mr. *Hobbes.* Conſidering (*b*) the ſignification of the word *Angel*, in the Old Teſtament, and the nature of Dreams and Viſions that happen to men by the ordinary way of nature, I was enclined to this opinion, that Angels were nothing but ſupernatural Apparitions of the fancy, raiſed by the ſpecial and extraordinary operation of God, thereby to make his preſence and commandments known to Mankind, and chiefly to his own People. But the many places of the New Teſtament, and our Saviours own words, and in ſuch Texts, wherein is no ſuſpition of corruption of the Scripture, have extorted from my feeble reaſon, an acknowledgment, and belief, that there be alſo Angels ſubſtantial, and permanent. But to believe they be in no place, that is to ſay, no where; that is to ſay, nothing; as they (though indirectly) ſay, that will have them incorporeal; cannot by Scripture be evinced. I add alſo (*c*) that concerning the Creation of Angels, there is nothing delivered in the Scriptures.

Lev. p. 211

Stud. The Scriptures affirm of Angels, that they

they are permanent Subſtances; they alſo make them inferior to God; and they aſcribe to God the creating of all things, beſides himſelf; and therefore, by apparent conſequence, they affirm of Angels, that they were created. If an expreſs teſtimony be required, the *Jews* will tell you, that *Moſes* (of whoſe ſecret Cabal they think themſelves the chief) underſtood thoſe words of his, eſpecially of Angels, when he ſaid of God, that *In the Beginning he created the Heavens.* But the words of St. *Paul* have ſeemed to me, of more eaſie and particular application. *Chriſt* (ſaid (*d*) that great Doctor of the Gentiles) *is the Image of the inviſible God, the firſt-born of every creature; for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, viſible and inviſible, whether they be Thrones or Dominions, or Principalities or Powers: all things were created by Him, and for Him.* Theſe words muſt be interpreted of Men and Angels, from the importance of the phraſe in other places of St. *Paul* (*e*), and from the mention of procured reconciliation or recapitulation which appertains not to the other parts of the upper or lower World (*f*).

d *Col.* 1. 15, 16.

e *Epheſ.* 1. 20, 21. *comp. with Hebr.* 1. 3, 4, &c. *to the end.*

If any man here replieth, that becauſe our Saviour took not hold of Angels, became not God incarnate to reduce them, and by his blood to ſoften and looſe their Adamantine chains; it ſeems, therefore, abſurd to apply this Text to thoſe inviſible Orders: he may be ſatisfi'd by taking notice of the proper ſignification of ἀποκαταλλάξαι, in that verſe; and this will be beſt done, by obſerving the agreement betwixt

f *Col.* 1. 20

this Chapter, and the first to the *Ephesians*; of which Epistle this to the *Colossians* is said, by *Crellius* (*a*) and some others, to be a Compendious Rehearsal. The seventh verse of the first to the *Ephesians*, answereth to the fourteenth of the first to the *Colossians*; and the tenth of the first, to the sixteenth and twentieth of the other (*b*). We are then to observe that ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, in the Epistle to the *Colossians*, is the same with ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, in that to the *Ephesians*. And *Ireneus* (*c*) citing that, amongst other Texts in the first to the *Colossians*, useth this second, and not that first *Greek* word. Now κεφάλαιον, signified first a *summ of Money*, and afterwards was applyed to any Collection. And we speak not improperly when we say, A general recapitulates his dispersed Soldiers into a Troop. So that hereby is set forth that Soveraignty over Men and Angels, which was acquired by the Death, Resurrection and Ascension, of the Captain of our Salvation, to whom, as Head and Lord, the whole body of them is referred; and under whom they shall not contend as of old the Angels of *Persia* and *Græcia* are said to have done.

a *Crell. com. in Ep. ad Col. p.* 528.

b *Grot. in* 1. *Ephes.* 10. *Certe ut pleraque Epistolæ ad Coloss. cum hâc Epist. congruunt, ita & locus iste* (Col. 1. 16.) *huic lucem adferre & vicissim ab eo lucem mutuari videtur.*

c *Iren. l.* 1. *c.* 1. *p.* 16.

Mr. *Hobbes*. For Angels, be they permanent, created, substances, be they what they will; this I am sure of, that I have no Idea of them. When I think of an Angel, (*d*) sometimes the Image of Flame, sometimes of a beautiful *Cupid*

d *Object.* 5. *p.* 27.

pid with wings, comes into my fancy; which Image, I am confident, is not the ſimilitude of an Angel; and therefore is not the Idea of it. But (*e*) believing that they are certain Creatures miniſtring to God, inviſible and immaterial; we (*f*) impoſe upon the thing believed or ſuppoſed the name of Angels; whilſt in the mean time, the Idea under which I imagin an Angel, is compounded of the Ideas of viſible things.

e *Credens.*
f *Imponimus,* } elegantly.

Stud. You here again are blindly fallen into the old miſtake of an Idea for an Image. If we ſuppoſe an Angel to be an underſtanding Eſſence, either not united vitally to matter, or only to the pureſt Æther, and conceive it employed in ſuch offices as are in Scripture aſcribed to it, we have a competent notion of it, and that is an Idea.

But of theſe inviſible Powers above us, methinks we have ſpoken largely enough, conſidering their nature, as alſo the ſeaſon of the night; if we purſue our Subject much longer, the morning will break in and affright away the Ghoſts we talk of.

When Goddeſs, Thou liſts up thy wakened head
Out of the Morning's Purple bed,
Thy Quire of Birds about thee play;
And all the joyful World ſalutes the riſing Day.

The Ghoſts, and monſter-ſpirits, that did preſume
A Bodie's Priviledg to aſſume,

So ſaid the beſt of *Engliſh* Poets, in his *Hymn.* to *Light* (*a*).

[a] Mr. *Cowley*, p. 36, 37.

Mr. *Hobbes.* A Poet may talk of Ghoſts; but I'm ſorry you think that we have been ſeriouſly diſcourſing about them; for then, it ſeems, we have talk'd about nothing. It is not well that we render ſpirits, by the word Ghoſts (*b*), which ſignifieth nothing, neither in heaven, nor earth, but the imaginary inhabitants of mans brain.

[b] *Lev. c.* 34 p. 210.

Stud. Gaſt, or *Geaſt*, whence Ghoſt is a good old *Engliſh* word, and ſignifieth the ſame with ſpirit; and I could produce *Verſtegan* (*c*) to avouch it. The word is good, and the Poetry excellent; and ſince I am fallen upon it, I think it will not be amiſs, if we unbend a little, and refreſh and ſmooth our ſpirits with ſome Poetick numbers, and diſmiſs our ſeverer Reaſonings 'till the morrow. And now, it comes into my mind, that I have about me, your Verſes of the *Peak*, which are moſt agreeable to the place and circumſtances, in which we have been; and in repeating which, I might be ſatisfi'd concerning ſome expreſſions, and particularly that of---(*ninos ſibi concolor Author Fallat*).

[c] *Verſteg. Ant. & Prop. of the Anc. Engliſh Tongue*, p. 220.

Mr. *Hobbes.* For (*d*) my Verſes of the *Peak*, they are as ill in my opinion, as I believe they are in any mans; and made long ſince——— I will by no means hear them.

[d] Mr. *H. Stigmat.* p. 14.

Stud.

Stud. Then let us get on the other ſide of our Curtains, without any Epilogue at all; for I begin to be as heavy as if the Mines of this *Shire* had a powerful influence upon me. I would have been glad to have diverted the humour a little with ſomething pleaſant, that we might have concluded, as the *Italians* adviſe, *Con la bocca dolce.* But I will force none of my humour upon you. Sir, I return you thanks for your Converſation; and I wiſh you, moſt heartily, a good night.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Sir, (*a*) praying God to proſper you, I take leave of you, and am your humble Servant.

(*a*) *Concluſ. of Mr. H. of lib. & neceſſ. p. 80*

The End of the Firſt Dialogue.

The Second Dialogue.

Art. 5. *Concerning the Soul of Man.*

Stud. A Good morrow to you, Mr. *Hobbes*, I hope you ſlept well, ſince I parted from you, notwithſtanding the heat of our Diſputation.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Very well; as quietly as if I had been rocked by one of thoſe good *Genii*, which we ſpake of, a little before we took our leaves.

Stud. I thank God, I ſlept ſo ſoundly, that the paſſed time is eſteemed by me long, upon no other account, than that it hath kept me ſome hours, from debating ſuch further matters in Philoſophy and Religion, as we at firſt propounded.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Let us then delay no longer, but enter immediately upon our ſecond Conference.

Stud. I am ready to wait upon you, and ſetting aſide the time of ſleep as nothing, to connect this part of our life with that, wherein we were awake, conferring about Angels; and becauſe

because we said as much as we intended upon that Subject, let us descend to the

Fifth Article, which concerns those Beings next in order, the *Souls of Men*; of them I would gladly hear your thoughts, seeing it is a matter which relates, so closely to the greatest interest of man.

Mr. *Hobbes.* By the Soul, I mean (*b*) the Life of Man; and Life it self is but motion, (*c*) so that the Soul or Life (*d*) is but a motion of Limbs, the beginning whereof is in some principal part within.

b *Leviat: cap.* 46. *p.* 373. *Soul or Life.*
c *Lev. p.* 29
d *Lev. p.* 1.

Stud. By this means you will make of Man an excellent piece of Clock-work; which 'though you have been hammering out, more than thirty years, may methinks, (like the artificial man of *Albertus Magnus*) be broken in sunder in a moment. I know that you may set the wheels of your machin a going; but what is there *within*, that shall understand when it goes well or ill, or feel and number the repeated strokes? You mean surely, by your description the mechanism of the Body set on work, and not the Soul perceiving its operations.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Perception or Imagination (*a*) depends (as I think) upon the motion of Corporeal Organs; and so the Mind will be nothing else but a motion in certain parts of an Organized Body.

a *Obj.* 4. *p.* 90.

Stud.

Stud. If you can clearly and distinctly both explain and prove that which you have now proposed in gross, you shall then be esteemed that great *Apollo*, whom every one that has feigned any singular Hypothesis, does in the absence of good Neighbours, boast himself to be.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Before I undertake this, I will remove out of your way that prejudice which you may have against the notion of the Soul as consisting in Life, by proving most effectually to an *Ecclesiastick*, that the Scripture giveth countenance to my definition. The Soul (*b*) in Scripture signifieth always, either the life, or the living creature; and the Body and Soul jointly, the body alive. In the first day of the Creation, God said, Let the Waters produce *Reptile animæ viventis*; The creeping thing that hath in it a living soul: the *English* translate it, *That hath life*: And again, God created Whales, *Et omnem animam viventem*: which in the *English* is, *Every living creature.* And likewise of Man, God made him of the dust of the Earth, and breathed in his face the breath of life; *Et factus est homo in animam viventem*; that is, *And man was made a living creature.* And after *Noah* came out of the Ark, God saith, *He will no more smite, Omnem animam viventem*; that is, *Every living creature.* And *Deut.* 12. 23. *Eat not the blood, for the blood is the soul*; that is, *the Life.* From which places, if by Soul were meant a substance incorporeal, with an existence separated

b *Leviat. c.* 44. *pag.* 339, 340.

ſeparated from the body, it might aſwell be inferred of any other living Creatures, as of Man.——

Stud. To argue from one ſenſe of an equivocal word to the univerſal acceptance of it, becomes not a man of ordinary parts. *Nepheſh*, Soul (as well as *Ruach*, Spirit) is a word of various ſignification in the Old Teſtament; and in many places it denotes (*a*) will, luſt, or pleaſure. We read in the *Pſalmes* (*b*) this phraſe——To bind his Princes *Benaphſcho*, according to his ſoul, or, at his pleaſure: And again, Deliver me not *Benepheſch*, unto the ſoul, or will of mine Enemies. When the word is improperly attributed to God in Scripture, this uſually is the ſenſe of it. You would now eſteem me abſurd enough, if I went about to infer from hence, either that the eſſence of the Soul conſiſteth in Will and Pleaſure, or that the Deity had a Soul, that is Life, that is Motion: The Soul being the ſpring of bodily life in man, it might by an eaſie Metonymie, be uſed (as in the recited places) in expreſſing Life. In that place where the Blood is call'd the Soul or Life; it was not the deſign of *Moſes* to ſet forth Philoſophically, the inward eſſence of a Beaſt; but to let the people underſtand, that the blood of a Beaſt, which was ſprinkled upon the Altar, being an embleme of the life of Man forfeited through diſobedience, and an inſtrument in expiation, they ſhould abſtain out of reverence,

a See *Maimon. more, Nev. pa.* 1. *c.* 41. *pag.* 59.
b *Pſalm* 105. 22. & *Pſal.* 27 12. See *Jer.* 8. 15. *Judg.* 1. 10 16, *&c.*

ence to that Myſtery, from a rude quaffing and devouring of it.

But what anſwer have you in readineſs to thoſe places, where the Scripture ſpeaks diſtinctly of Body and Soul?

Mr. *Hobbes.* Body and Soul is no more than Body and Life, or Body alive. In thoſe places of the New Teſtament (c), where it is ſaid, that any man *ſhall be caſt body and ſoul into hell-fire*; it is no more than body and life, that is to ſay, they ſhall be caſt alive into the perpetual fire of *Gehenna*.

c *Lev. c.* 44 *p.* 340.

Stud. Your Gloſs is extreamly wide of the unwreſted meaning of the holy Text. For our Saviour (d) counſelleth his Apoſtles *not to fear them that can kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoul*; making a manifeſt diſtinction thereby betwixt the Soul and the Life of the Body; for if the Soul were nothing but the Life of the body; it were in the power of every man to kill our Souls, unto whoſe ſword and malice our lives lay do open. And thus you ſee, inſtead of removing truth, which in me you call a prejudice, you have laid a ſtumbling block in the way, an occaſion of falling into error.

d *Mat.* 10. 28.

But let us leave the explication of Scripture, in which you are for the greater part unhappy, and attempt the explication of the exalted mechaniſm of Living Man, wherein you have laboured ſo many years, and concerning which you have raiſed the expectations of many.

Mr. *Hobbes.*

Mr. Hobber. The cauſe of Senſe (*a*), is the external body, or object, which preſſeth the organ proper to each ſenſe; either immediately as in the Taſt and Touch; or mediately as in Seeing, Hearing and Smelling; which preſſure by the mediation of nerves, and other ſtrings, and membranes of the body, continued inwards to the brain and heart, cauſeth there a reſiſtance, or counter-preſſure, or endeavour of the heart to deliver it ſelf; which endeavour becauſe outward, ſeemeth to be ſome matter without; and the ſeeming or fancy, is that which men call Senſe.

a *Lev. p. 3.*

Stud. You do not here at all ſurprize me, as if ſome new Philoſophy (for the main, not heard of, in former ages) had, to your immortal renown, been firſt diſcover'd by you. For it has been ſaid of old, that, All variety in bodies ariſeth from motion; and that Senſation is a perception of that manner in which impreſſing bodies affect us. For *Ariſtotle* (*b*) hath recited an ancient ſaying of Philoſophers, who holding that Phantaſms were not the things themſelves, but only in our Senſes, expreſs'd their opinion by aſſerting, that there was no blackneſs, without Sight, nor without Taſte. And *Des-cartes* in his Meteors, publiſhed in *French* together with his Method Dioptriques, and Geometry, as ſoon as I was born (*c*), explained the nature of Colours, light, and viſion, otherwiſe than by intentional Species; and told us that by cold and heat, are to underſtood perceptions occaſioned by the leſs or more vehement

b *Ar. de An. l. 3. c. 2.* οὔτε μὴ ὄλας εἶναι ἄνευ αἰσθήσεως, οὐδὲ χυμὸν ἄνευ γεύσεως.

c *A Leyde, 1637. la Diopt. p. 5, &c. les Meteor. Diſc. prem. p. 161, 162.*

ment

ment touch of little bodies upon the capillaments of the nerves which ſerve in our organs to that purpoſe. Yet I am not tir'd in hearing ſuch Hypotheſes repeated or varied; pleaſe then to proceed, and if it liketh you, particularly in the explication of the nature of Viſion, wherein the Doctrine of Phantaſms is moſt concern'd.

d *Hum. nat. p.* 11, *&c.*

Mr. *Hobber.* In every great (*d*) agitation or concuſſion of the brain (as it happeneth from a ſtroke, eſpecially if the ſtroke be upon the Eye) whereby the Optick-nerve ſuffereth any great violence, there appeareth before the Eyes a certain light, which light is nothing without but an apparition only; all that is real, being the concuſſion of motion of the parts of that nerve; from which experience we may conclude that apparition of light is really nothing but motion within——and image and colour is but an apparition to us of that motion, agitation, or alteration which the object worketh in the brain, or ſpirits, or ſome internal ſubſtance in the head.

Stud. This expoſition of Light by the crouding of the parts, though it be not wholly to be rejected, yet may it (I think) be rendred ſuſpicious for a time, by that which deſerves, at leaſt, the name of a puzzling Objection. Let us then ſuppoſe unto our ſelves, ſuch a circumference as is ſurrounded with Eyes: for in every point of enlightned ſpace, and at all times there may be Viſion. I ſay then, that the part

part in the Center being equally crouded on all ſides, no motion or preſſure can be thence conveighed Diametrically, from Eye to Eye; which is againſt the Hypotheſis mention'd. This Scruple concerneth alſo the Philoſophy of *Des-cartes*; againſt whoſe *Globuli*, in Viſion, there hath likewiſe of late, been this Exception made. They have been ſuppoſed, in a right line, to move after the manner of Jack-wheels, the one from Eaſt to Weſt moving the next from Weſt to Eaſt: from whence it has been concluded that the motion being thus diſturbed, the knowledg of the Object cannot diſtinctly be attained to by the endeavour of the laſt *Globulus*. But, to omit what he himſelf, hath written (*a*) concerning the Collateral *Globuli*; I obſerve, that the *Globuli* are ſo exactly turned, that they touch but in a point, in the right line of them; and that therefore, according to Mechanick Laws, the Motion from the firſt *Globulus* is conveigh'd directly through the Center of the ſecond, and ſo in ſucceſſion, 'till it hath deſcrib'd ſuch a right line as is required in Viſion, without other variation in the preſſure, than out ward impediments ſhall occaſion. But not to digreſs too much, or to conjure up ſuch Objections as we cannot eaſily diſmiſs by Solution; let us attend to what is plain. And firſt, to ſpeak more generally, to me it is plain, that all this while you have deſcrib'd the Apparatus for Senſation, and not the inward Subſtance which hath a faculty to perceive that it has been variouſly preſſed by Objects. *Ariſtotle* (*b*) enquiring how

(*a*) *Meteori c. 8. p. 281. to 285.*

(*b*) *De An. l. 3. c. 8.*

the first principles of Knowledg should be Images; doth cut in sunder rather than untie the knot, by saying, that in truth they are not Phantasms, yet not without them. And *Descartes*, supposing Beasts without a Soul, does therefore, notwithstanding the curious workmanship of their Machin, not much inferior unto Man's, deny that they have Perception; but only move, as the Dove of *Archytas*, or the Eagle of *Regiomontanus*. I enquire, then, not after the instruments of Sensation, but the Substance perceiving: Neither do I, yet, understand, after all your words about it, what is properly sense?

a *De corp.* c. 25. *pag.* 292. Mr. *Hobbes*. Sense (*a*) is a Phantasm, made by the Re-action and endeavour outwards in the Organ of Sense, caused by an endeavour inwards from the Object, remaining for some time more or less.

Stud. There is not only excited in the Brain an apparence of the Object, but also a Perception of that Image or apparence; as all who have their Senses, find by daily experience. If Impressions were, not only Instruments, but acts of Sense; might we not strongly argue, that a Looking-glass saw, and a Lute heard?

But, to descend unto particulars; I will endeavour to make it evident, that neither Sense, nor Imagination, nor Memory, nor Reason, nor Will, can ever become the results of moving and rebounding Matter, with-

without the preſence of an Immaterial Mind.

Firſt, Senſation is not made, neither can it be, by the meer re-action of Matter. It would thence follow, That every part of the World, being capable of moving and rebounding, is alſo, ſo often as there is this counter-preſſure ſenſible. Then the ſprings of all Engins, the Elaſtic air, reſiſted wind, and an echoed voice, are ſo many perceiving Eſſences; and it is an act, almoſt of as great unmercifulneſs though not of ſo great detriment to the Commonwealth) to knock a nail as a man on the head; for either nail or hammer would extreamly ſmart for't.

Mr. *Hobbes.* 'I know, (c) there have been Philoſophers, and thoſe learned men, who have maintain'd that all Bodies are endued with Senſe. Nor can I ſee how they can be refuted, if the nature of Senſe be placed in Re-action only. And, though by the Re-action of Bodies inanimate a Phantaſm might be made, it would nevertheleſs ceaſe, as ſoon as ever the Object were removed. For, unleſs thoſe Bodies had Organs, (as living Creatures have) fit for the retaining of ſuch Motion as is made in them, their Senſe would be ſuch, as that they ſhould never remember the ſame. And therefore this hath nothing to do with that ſenſe which is the Subject of my Diſcourſe.

(c) *De corp.* p. 293.

Stud. If this be good Doctrine; we muſt, above moſt perſecuted Men, pity the Hammer

or Anvil of *Vulcan*; they being, for the most part, tormented by repeated Strokes. But let this ludicrous Argument give place to more ſober Reaſoning. Conſider then, that Corporeal motion, in all things (as in water) ariſeth not further in its effects than the Spring-head of its own cauſal Energy.

a *Lev. p.* 3. Mr. *Hobbes*, It is (*a*) confeſſed, that Motion produceth nothing but Motion.

Stud. Then the part counter-preſſed, being ſtill only moved, it doth not perceive either that, or how, it ſelf is moved, unleſs Motion be the perceiving of it ſelf, and the apprehending of Motion, and of all the varieties of Motion; which is a phraſe of greater inſignificancy than any you have noted amongſt the *Ariſtotelians* or School-Doctors. In whatſoever Matters we are at difference, I'm ſure we are of the ſame judgment in this, That a Body at reſt, (*b*) will always be at reſt, unleſs there be ſome other body, which by getting into its place, ſuffers it no longer to remain at reſt. So that Matter, in its own nature, is thoroughly dull and ſtupid; and in receiving Motion it is meerly paſſive; for a Body, when moved, only ſuffers it ſelf to be crouded from a firſt place to a ſecond.

b *See de Corp. p.* 151 *Lev. p.* 4.

c *De Corp. c.* 8. *Art.* 10. *& alſo p.* 150. *de Corp.* Mr. *Hobbes*. In that alſo, we differ not; for (*c*) Motion is, by me defined, to be the continual privation of one place and acquiſition of another.

Stud.

Stud. How then does paſſive Matter, by being crouded more ſlowly or ſwiftly, containing in its own Idea only impenetrable extention, obtain an infuſed power, from that Motion, to perceive that it is crouded, and in what degree; and thereby alſo, to have an active Conception of the Varieties in Nature?

But what availeth Rebounding to the very Act of Senſe? for to have Re-action is no more than for paſſive Matter to be thruſt firſt forward, and then backward. And why then, may not the part which is crouded forward, perceive as well in proceeding from one term in a right line, as in receding from the other term? the difference not conſiſting in any Phyſical cauſality, but in relation, or reſpect to divers Terms? The pureſt parts of the Blood thruſt forward to the ſpinal Marrow, have the ſame virtue imparted to them; as, when they are beaten backward towards the Retina, in relation to the Object of Sight; if we ſuppoſe their force unbroken and unaltered. The difference is reſpective, as in the way which leads from *Cambridge* to *London*, the way is the ſame; and the Hackney coming to *Cambridge*, may be almoſt, as well imagined to be wiſer, when he is whipped and ſpurred back towards *London*, as that a part of the Matter thruſt from the influence of the Object into the Brain, may be thought more to perceive in its return to the Optick-nerve, than in its direct courſe (*a*).

(*a*) *Hum. nat. p.* 14. The Interior Coat of the Eye is nothing elſe, but a piece of the Optick-nerve; & therefore the Motion is ſtill thereby continued into the Brain; & by reſiſtance or re-action of the Brain, is alſo a rebound into the Optick nerve again, which we not conceiving it as ſuch, call Light.

The like Arguments are to be uſed againſt Fancy or Imagination, as a material attribute; it being but a Perception of Phantaſms, (eſpecially in Viſion) when the Object is removed. Here we muſt ſay again, that, A perceiving of an Image, and a perceiving that it ſtill dwells with us; and a perceiving that we perceive it; that is to ſay, a feeling of a motion, and a knowing that we feel it, and in what manner, in the Organs of Senſe; is not the Motion it ſelf which we perceive we feel: and yet, Motion is all that is introduced into the Senſeleſs, Unactive, Matter, and not any new Principle capable of perceiving Motion. For Motion, as was granted, begets nothing but Motion. You have ſomewhere (*b*) ſaid, That Colour is but an *Apparition to Us*, of that Motion, Agitation or Alteration, which the Object worketh in the Brain or Spirits, or ſome Internal ſubſtance in the head: ſhould you proceed and ſay, That ſuch Motion, Agitation or Alteration, in the part, is the Senſe or Fancy perceiving that Motion, Agitation, or Alteration, that is, it ſelf, (which yet is your Opinion in varied Terms) you would ſurely grate the Ears of the veriеſt Aſs in Nature.

b *Hum. nat. p.* 13.

And here the Argument is of ſtronger conviction, than in ſenſe. For if a part of Matter moved, perceives not that Motion, when the Object preſſeth by an immediate influence; much leſs is it capable of ſo Doing, when Motion in the Spirits, or Nerve, or Membrane, is ſubject in ſhort time to languiſh, and to loſe its degree of ſwiftneſs, or its determination

by

by the Encounters of freſh Preſſures from without, or endeavours from within, which are numerous and almoſt perpetual.

Farther; you have admitted of the feign'd conceit of *Vacuum* in nature; which you apprehend not as a Phantaſm of ſubtile Matter extended, but conceive a perfectly void ſpace between two Bodies. Of this, you can have no Senſation, becauſe there is no Object to preſs into the Brain. You have no proper Imagination of it; for, of Nothing there is no Image. But you have an Idea, or Perception, or in your own word, a Phantaſm of it: This Phantaſm (by an Argument *ad hominem*) overthrows the opinion of Imagining, or Fancying Matter, whilſt it ariſeth from the Negation or Privation of it. But that which is of greater ſtrength, is a Reaſon taken from the diſproportion of ſome Images to the Material Sentient, and the manner how the Image conveigheth it ſelf to the perceiving Matter. We have within us, an Image of the Sun, about two foot in Diameter: were the whole Head the Imagining Subject, it would be no more capable of ſo wide an Image, than a common Wafer is, of the Broad-Seal. Beſides, we may conſider, that in the Sentient-Body, each part of it has either the apparence of the whole Image, or of a Part. If, of the whole, then ſeeing every part of Body is Body, and the ſmalleſt atom we can ſee is reſolved further into its parts, and thoſe into their parts without end; it will follow thence, that we ſhall have an apparence not of one only Sun,

Sun, but of more, perhaps, than we have, of fixed Starrs in the wideſt and cleareſt view of the Face of Heaven. If of a part, then we perceive no whole Image, or entire Apparence; but have as many ſingular Perceptions broken and divided, as parts in the Image or Percipient: If in any part of the Percipient, all the Impreſſions are united; then are the parts of the Image confounded by ſo doing; and the parts of the Percipient by communicating their Motion have loſt all their Senſe: neither is there a part which has not Parts; ſo ſtill the Image will be infinitely multiply'd, or not entirely ſeen.

The next Faculty, is that of Remembrance, which is not to be ranked amongſt Mechanical Powers. I enquire then, what Faculty perceiving the Image in the Brain, perceives alſo that the Object is removed; and how many hours it hath been abſent; and when there ariſeth a like preſſure from the ſame Object, diſcerneth that ſuch a preſſure was formerly made?

[a] *De corp. c. 25. p. 290.* Mr. *Hobbes.* By (*a*) what Senſe (ſay you) ſhall we take notice of Senſe? I anſwer by Senſe it ſelf, namely, by the Memory which for ſome time remains in us of things ſenſible, 'though they themſelves paſs away: for he that perceives that he has perceived, remembers.

Stud. I underſtand that there may remain [a] quivering in the Retina, Choroeides, and

whole

whole *Pia Mater*, or in the Spirits, after the Object of Sight is removed, whoſe preſence occaſioned a more ſtiffe Preſſure. We ſee the like in extended and moved Nets and Ropes, and a thouſand other Examples in Art and Nature: but this trembling in them, as alſo in ſuch Machins where the Motion may be more entirely and longer impriſoned, does ſoon vaniſh. Whereas the Re-action muſt remain extreamly long, in ſuch Men (for Inſtance), who at the ſeventieth year remember moſt perfectly, and will repeat with pleaſure the paſſages of their School-play; even thoſe who retain not the things more newly paſſed. To tell how this can be explained by the meer Mechaniſm of the Brain, which has received many millions of changes in it ſelf, and Re-actions occaſion'd from the Objects of every Hour, requires a more skilful *Oedipus* than has yet pretended to unriddle the Secrets of Humane Nature. But if we ſuppoſe the Motion remaining in the Brain (which you call Memory), there is no ſatisfaction given to the Queſtion: in which, proceeding further, we demand, By what Power do you perceive this remaining Motion as formerly, cauſed, and now continuing? for to ſay, That the Motion of the Brain is Perception of that Motion; and that Motion remaining, is the Perception of remaining Motion; and that decaying is a perception of the remaining yet decaying Motion; and that this decaying Motion is a Perception that it was a brisker Vibration in time paſt; (whilſt all theſe Motions

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe a faculty pre-exiſting, or newly produc'd and apprehenſive of them; which, being the iſſue of Motion cannot be more apprehenſive than its Parent) to ſay all this, is to pile up abſurd ſpeeches unto the very heighth of Non-ſenſe; and I have done them too much honour, whilſt I have taken ſuch frequent notice of them.

I again inquire of you, Whether Senſe and Imagination, and Memory, being Motions Phantaſms, periſh, or are transformed as an impreſſion upon the ſtamp of new Arms, when the rebounded Motion periſheth, as to the Brain; or is altered there?

a *De corp. c.* 25. *p.*291.*S.*1. Mr. *Hobbes.* Phantaſms (*a*) or Ideas, are not always the ſame; but new ones appear to us, and old ones vaniſh, according as we apply our Organs of Senſe, now to one Object, now to another; wherefore they are generated and periſh. And from hence it is manifeſt, that they are ſome change or mutation in the Sentient. Now all mutation, or alteration is Motion, or Endeavour; and Endeavour alſo is Motion, in the Internal parts of the thing that is altered.

Stud. If then, Motion ceaſeth, Memory alſo vaniſheth away.

Mr. *Hobbes.* It is confeſſed. And I have ſaid already, That unleſs Bodies had Organs (as living Creatures have) fit for the retaining of ſuch Motion as is made in them, their Senſe would

would be such as that they should never remember the same.

Stud. If then, Oblivion seizeth on us, that is to say, in your sense and phrase, if the Motion be removed from the Sentient; when the Organ is again moved by the same Object, there ariseth a new Motion, and a new Sensation, but no Remembrance that we were formerly thus moved; because the Sentient has only had Motion as it had at first; the old is perished. We find by common experience, that when something has escap'd our Memory for many years; (suppose, the name of a Person in Story), we turn our Dictionaries, we chime over all Syllables we can think of; we use all endeavours to rubb up (as we say) our Memories, and perhaps in vain.

Mr. *Hobbes.* This is Re-conning. And our thoughts run (*a*), in the same manner, as one would sweep a room to find a Jewel; or as a Spaniel ranges the field, 'till he find a scent; or as a Man should run over the Alphabet, to start a rime. (*a*) *Lev. p.* 10

Stud. This business of the Brain is set on work, by the Will or Desire, and so far from being caused by Mechanick impulse, that it is occationed by a Privation, or, in your way, by the missing of parts.

But, to connect my Discourse to those words wherein you interrupted me; when, after all rubbings up of Memory, we despair of finding this

this much-ſought *Name*, at laſt, perhaps by accidence we eſpy it on a Monument, or Medal, or in a Book; or hear it, or ſomething of like ſound with it, pronounced by another; ſtraightway there ariſeth in us not only a Perception of this Name, by this new Motion which is the whole Mechanick cauſality; but alſo a knowledg that this was the groat we ſwept for, the Name ſought after; & a rejoycing in the diſcovery. The ſound was not able to produce in us any other Image than we held of old, when we firſt read or heard the word; by what token then could it be known to be the loſt Name found, if Memory be performed without an Immaterial Soul?

Having mentioned Oblivion, I will go on, by ſhewing, that, according to your Principles, almoſt every thing would be as deeply, and as ſoon forgotten, as I wiſh your Doctrines were concerning God, and his Angels, and the Souls of Men.

Attend then to the meaning of *Heraclitus*, who was wont to ſay, That no Man bathed twice in the ſame River; and of a Modern Phyſitian who hath told us, That no Man ſits down the ſame to a ſecond Meal. The Spirits, which with the greateſt reaſon, are ſuppoſed to be moſt the Soul, and to rebound (becauſe it is not ſo proper to ſay, That the Nerves and Membranes rebound from the Spinal Marrow to the *plexus retiformis*) are always ſhifting poſtures and places, and many of them tranſpire daily, whilſt new parts of the Blood are exalted and conveighed into their room. In Children

dren, the Organs are changed by acceſſion of Parts; and in all, in the ſpace perhaps of leſs than ſeven years, the whole Sentient, whatſoever it is, is, for the main vaniſhed, 'though the Texture be alike, as was the form of Structure in the Ship of *Theſeus*. How then, (as *Raimundus Martini*, argueth (*a*) Can any perſon feel himſelf, after ſeventy years, to be individually the ſame, if he be not endued with a Spiritual and Incorruptible Soul, which remaineth the ſame intirely throughout that ſpace; but conſiſteth only of a Body in Motion, with perpetual flux of Parts? Or by what fetch or wit can it be explained, how the new added Matter, by new preſſure can remember what was perceived by the former, whoſe Motion is ſcattered with it ſelf? If we ſhould ſuppoſe the Parts to remain, and yet the Motion to have periſhed, it is all one to them, when they are moved by a freſh impulſe, as if they never had been moved but at that time. Now that the Motion periſheth daily in effect, that is, that it ſo far varieth in its degrees and determinations, as not to be in capacity of repreſenting the Object as it did in its unchanged condition, will I think, be concluded by premiſes, by your ſelf, laid down. Do you not then, not only aſcribe to the ſeveral Senſes, proper Organs, and in them proper parts which have animation; but alſo affirm the Heart to be the common ſeat of Senſe?

a Raim. Mart. *pug. Fidei. par.* 1 *c.* 4. *p.* 165 *Ipſa eſſe illum quoq; nunc, qui fuit tunc, eſt firmiſſima mentis ejus conceptio: hujuſmodi ergo eſſentia ejus non eſt complexio, qua ab illo tempore forſitan eſt plus quam milleſies permutata.*

Mr. *Hobbes*. The Heart (*b*) is a common Organ to all the Senſes; whereas that which reacheth

b *De Corp. c.* 25 *S.* 10 *p.* 301.

reacheth from the Eye to the roots of the Nerves, is proper only to ſight. The proper Organ of Hearing is the Tympanum of the Ear, and its own Nerve, from which to the Heart the Organ is common. In the proper Organs of Smell and Taſte are nervous Membranes; in the Palate and Tongue, for the Taſte; and in the Noſtrils, for the Smell; and from the roots of thoſe Nerves to the Heart, all is common. Laſtly, the proper Organ of Touch are Nerves and Membranes diſperſed through the whole Body; which Membranes are derived from the root of the Nerves. And all things elſe belonging alike to all the Senſes ſeem to be adminiſtred by the Arteries, and not by the Nerves.

Stud. The Spirits, then moved in Viſion by the Object, return by counter-preſſure to the Retina, and from thence by ſuch Arteries as you make conjecture of (*b*), unto the Heart, the ſource of Spirits.

b *Ibid ad init.*

c *Hum. nat. c. 7. p. 69.*

d *Lev. p. 25 c. 6.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* Conceptions (*c*) and apparitions (wch are nothing really but Motion in ſome Internal Subſtance of the Head) ſtop not there; but the Motion proceedeth to the Heart. And as in ſenſe (*d*), that which is really within us, is only Motion but in apparence; to the Sight, light and colour; to the Ear, ſound, &c.——So when the action of the Object is continued from the Eyes, Ears, and other Organs to the Heart; the real effect, there, is nothing but Motion or Endeavour; which conſiſteth in Appetite,

Appetite, or Averſion, to or from, the Object moving. But the apparence or ſenſe of that Motion, is that we either call delight, or trouble of Mind.

Stud. It is then, impoſſible to remember, ſeeing the Motion, in paſſing to the heart, and in being in the heart, whilſt it is dilated in receiving blood from the *Vena Cava*, and contracted in forcing what is receiv'd into the Habit of the Body, (for the vulgar Syſtole is the Diaſtole of the Heart, and *vice verſa*) muſt needs be either communicated to other parts already in Motion, or encreaſed by the receit of Motion from ſuch infinite parts of blood juſtling with it, or at leaſt, varied once and again in its determinations, rebounding often from divers terms: wherefore it muſt be ſuppos'd to periſh; not properly indeed, ſeeing no Motion is loſt any other way than money is ſaid to be loſt when it paſſeth from one Gamſter to another, but to all the intents and purpoſes of repreſenting the Object; which, to awaken a new Senſation, muſt come into the Brain by a new Impulſe. So that Motion in the Blood, from the Impreſſion of an outward Object, is like that of water, by a ſtone caſt in; it is propagated from one circle to another, 'till at length it paſſeth undiſcerned into a foreign ſubject.

But it is time to haſten our pace in the preſent Controverſie. In which, I could not, to ſay truth, have been very brief, if I had but made a ſhort rehearſal of the very heads of ſuch

ſuch Arguments as overthrow the Doctrine of Thinking Matter.

Let us then, paſs by theſe lower powers of Senſe, and Fancy, and Memory; and conſider the more advanced faculty of Reaſon; and here we ſhall perceive, by the manner of Mental working, that Reaſon is a power ſuperiour to Imagination, and much more to all the cauſality of corporeal preſſure. For (as *Des-*
a *Medit. 6. cartes* (a) has, with acuteneſs, and truth, ob-
p. 36. ſerved) we otherwiſe think of or underſtand a Triangle, and a figure of a thouſand Angles. When we think of a Triangle, we not only underſtand a figure comprehended by three lines, but alſo we have a Perception, or Image of thoſe three lines in our Brain; and that is Imagination. But when we think of a Figure of a thouſand Angles, we as perfectly, by our Reaſon underſtand, that it conſiſts of a thouſand ſides, as we perceive the other to conſiſt of three; but we cannot imagin thoſe thouſand Sides and Angles after the ſame manner that we did the three; that is, behold them as diſtinctly pictur'd in our Brain, as preſent in a Phantaſm. And although, by reaſon of the cuſtom which we have gotten of imagining ſomething as often as there is mention made of a corporeal ſubject, we may perhaps repreſent to our ſelves ſome confuſed figure at the hearing the foreſaid figure named; yet it is plain, that this is not the image of a figure of a thouſand ſides and Angles, becauſe it is in nothing differing from that Image of a Figure which ſhould repreſent to my ſelf, in thinking of a

figure

Figure with a myriad of Sides and Angles, or of any other of very many Sides; neither doth it conduce at all to the understanding of those proprieties whereby a figure of a thousand Angles differs from other very Polygonous Figures.

Again, to proceed in order, I will endeavour to make it evident, beyond all just exception, that the power of Reasoning, in the acts of simple Apprehension, of connecting simple notions into a Proposition, of deriving consequences from premised propositions, is not the meer result of the moved Mechanism of Man's Body.

First, In the Acts of simple Apprehension, our Reason, exercised in Notions purely Logical, or Metaphysical, has Ideas which are estranged from all Corporeal Matter. For they are not conceptions of single Beings, but of the manner how we conceive of them our selves, or declare our conceptions unto others. Thus every Youth will tell us, within few days after Matriculation, That *Homo* is Species.

Mr. *Hobbes*. The Universality (*a*) of one Name to many Things, has been the cause that Men think the Things are themselves universal; and so seriously contend, that besides *Peter* and *John*, and all the rest of the Men that are, have been, or shall be in the World, there is yet something else that we call Man, viz. Man in general; deceiving themselves, by taking the universal or general appellation, for the thing it signifieth: For, if one should

(*a*) *Hum. nat. p.* 48, 49.

desire the Painter to make him the Picture of a Man; which is as much as to say, of a Man in general; he meaneth no more but that the Painter should chuse what Man he pleaseth to draw, which must needs be some of them that are, or have been, or may be; none of which are universal: But when he would have him to draw the Picture of the King, or any particular person; he limiteth the Painter to that one person he chuseth.

Stud. I affirm not, that there is such an existing Being as Man in general; yet that, there is such an abstracted notion of Man, or Manhood, all Circumstances of Individuation laid aside, is manifest; seeing it is not a true and proper Predication to say, a Man is *Socrates*; and therefore the notion reacheth beyond a singular; and therefore is not an impulse from Sense, whose Objects are all singular. And because a Painter cannot make the Picture of Human Nature, but only of a Human Person; it followeth that such a Notion is not Pictur'd in the Fancy. Besides, when we say, a Man is a Species; we represent not to our selves (properly in Logick) Human Nature, but the manner whereby our Mind conceives of it, whilst it takes notice that it agrees to *Peter* and *Paul*, and *Thomas*, and every single Man that has been, or is, or shall be produced: For to be Species is not said of Man alone, but of every common Nature. And, this also you might have known more than 6ty years ago in *Magdalen-hall* in *Oxf.* It is a shame therefore, for you, to upbraid the Schools

Schools, of non-ſenſe and deceit; into which, if you had enter'd with apprehenſion, this back-door to Atheiſm had never bin ſet open by you.

Further, To take you a ſhort leſſon out of *Ramus*, a Man who underſtood the Mathematicks, and yet deſpis'd not, though he reformed Logick: The Invention of Arguments, ſhews Reaſon to be above the Laws of Matter. For, the Arguments in his firſt part of Logick; (that is, Topicks apt to argue or declare the relation of one thing to another; as (*Virgil* in the fourth *Æneid*, ſays, Fear does argue degenerate Minds) ſuch as are Cauſe, Effect, Subject, Adjunct, and the like; being uſed here, not to find out the nature of ſingle Beings (which appertains to Natural Philoſophy, Medics, and other Sciences) nor to interpret Names (which appertains to Grammar) but only as places declaring the mutual σχέσεις or habitudes of one thing to another, which may be related divers ways; they cannot poſſibly ariſe from the ſingle and abſolute motions of ſenſe. Wonder not, now, that I am ſo buſie in the firſt Elements of Logick, ſeeing your own miſconceit about the art of Reaſoning, is a manifeſt relapſe into the Ignorance of a ſecond Childhood, and ſheweth a neceſſity of your returning to *Oxford* anew.

Again, if we conſider Reaſon in the framing of Propoſitions, we find that we connect and disjoyn Subjects and Predicates, we compare and refer them; we ſay, this appertains to the other, or it does not; it is equal to it, or unequal; like, or unlike; which being acts

of Relation, cannot wholly ariſe from any thing preſſing into the Brain from without, which muſt be ſome ſingle and abſolute Object; but from the meer efficacy of an Incorporeal mind. It is impoſſible that the Sentient by meer Motion ſhould connect or compare one Image with another. For, a divers Phantaſm is a divers Motion; and ſuppoſing they remain, the Motion is in a divers part: ſeeing, the Phantaſms or divers Motions would be confounded, if in the ſame part of the Brain, they ſhould conſpire. If then there be one Phantaſm in one part, and a ſecond in another, by what imaginable power can they confer? For, if any part gives its Motion to the other, or receives from it, the Motion, that is the Phantaſm of it, is, by ſo doing, changed. I may here ſubjoyn, that, without the Anticipation of Propoſitions in the mind, it is a difficult matter to underſtand, how we can be capable of Senſe or Fancy, unleſs we firſt know what it is to know, and have ſome antecedent rules whereby to judg of receiv'd Images.

Laſt of all, in deriving Conſequences, in longer or ſhorter trains of coherence, reaſon ſhews it ſelf to be an immaterial faculty. For if two Images cannot, as hath bin prov'd, be aptly connected by Imagination and Memory, ſuppoſed Mechanical; Reaſon, ſurely, which ranketh all Beings into their diſtinct Orders and Dependencies; and connecteth myriads of ſuch Ideas as have no Phantaſm appertaining to them, muſt be divine. Images and Thoughts are produced in us in much diſorder, by reaſon

that the Objects which we converſe with are many and divers; and becauſe, our Studies vary upon infinite occaſions: ſo that our thoughts at firſt do ſpring up one by one, as Jewels are found. It is, then, the work of Reaſon to recall and gather together all ſuch of them as are of the ſame kind, and to lay aſide the reſt for a convenient ſeaſon; and to judg further of their agreeableneſs, & how they depend upon and illuſtrate each other, and ſo as it were to ſtring them into a long and nervous coherence; a chain moſt fit to adorn a Philoſopher. I know not, how a Phantaſm, or moved part in the Brain, can receive any other into mutual dependence, which the force of the antecedent or conſequent Objects adds not to it. For that which is in Motion acts not at a diſtance, but preſſeth only its neighbour; and that, by way of pulſion, not attraction.

Again, Reaſon, by the drawing of divers Conſequences, correcteth Senſe; which, though it doth not properly deceive, (being ſuch a Perception as naturally ariſeth from ſuch a preſſure, and ſuch a diſpoſed Organ) yet would it leave us for ever in Ignorance, if our Reaſon did not convince us, that the Object is not adequately repreſented by the Image. In Senſe, Imagination, or Memory, one of the fixed Starrs ſeems not bigger than that in the Badg of the Order of the Garter: the Image is no greater, the Motion of no further force; and therefore Reaſon, which by conſequences in Aſtronomy, infers that it is bigger than the Earth, is ſomething much ſuperior to Motion derived from the Object.

If after all this, a Man shall say, that the very train of Corporeal Motions in the Head, is the Reason which judgeth of that train, disturbeth its dependance made by succession of Objects, disposeth it after a new manner, and also at pleasure ordereth the train of Logical Ideas not generated by Motion; it may sooner be resolved concerning such a saying, than about the Perpendicular and Circle in the Angle of Contact (touching which you think you have written (*a*) shrewd matters) that it doth not meerly incline to, but is co-incident with non-sense.

a *Ep. ded. before 6. Less. p. 4. D. W's. Treatises de Ang. Cont & Arith Infin* I have in two or three leaves wholly and clearly confuted.

b Mr. H. *Consid. p. 60.* Mr. *Hobbes*. Here is a great deal said, and (*b*) too much to be confuted: yet almost every saying may be disproved, or ought to be reprehended. In sum; It is all error and railing.

c *Obj. 4. p. 96.* But what will you say, (*c*) if perhaps Ratiocination be nothing but the coupling and concatenation of Names, by the Verb *Est*? whence we collect by reason, nothing at all of the Nature of things, but of their Appellations, to wit, whether we joyn the Names of things according to the Agreements which we made (at pleasure) about their signification, or whether we do otherwise. If this be so, as so it may be, Ratiocination may depend upon Names, Names upon Imagination, and Imagination, perhaps, as I think, upon the motion of Corporeal Organs; and so, still, the Soul will be nothing else besides agitation in certain parts of a well framed

framed Body. Nay, It is plain (*a*) that there is nothing universal but Names. And Reason (*b*) is nothing but reckoning of the Consequences of general Names agreed upon, to certain purposes.

a *Hum. nat. p.* 49.
b *Lev. c.* 5. *p.* 18.

Stud. Let *Des-Cartes* (*c*) answer this Objection, to whom you once proposed it. There is (said he) in Ratiocination; a coupling not of Names, but of things signified by certain Names; and I admire how the contrary could enter into the mind of any Man: For, who doubts that a *Frenchman* and a *German* do reason the same things concerning the same Subjects, whilst they conceive their Notions in different Words or Names? And doth not this Philosopher condemn himself, whilst he speaks concerning Pacts which we made at pleasure, teaching the signification of Words? for if he admitteth that any thing is signified by Words, why will not he have our Ratiocination consist in that something which is signified, rather than in the bare Words themselves. Thus he, and (as I think) with unanswerable pertinence. It might be also said, that, by this Doctrine, an Ass, and a Dumb-man, are equally without Reason, and that a Parrot is indued with it.

c *Resp.* 3. *p.* 96.

Mr. *Hobbes.* There (*d*) is no Reasoning without speech. By (*g*) the advantage of Names it is that we are capable of Science; which Beasts for want of them, are not, nor Man, without the use of them.

d *Lev. c.* 4. *p.* 16.
e *Hum. nat. p.* 46.

Stud. Where is your Reason in these words, considering the ingeniousness of divers Dumbmen, excelling that of many who are loudly talkative?

talkative? Names doubtleſs, though connected, are not Reaſon, but the Regiſters of our Thoughts and Reaſonings; and we proceed from Mental to Verbal diſcourſe; and when we have conceived a Book, we may, expreſs to the World, the ſenſe of it, in what language we pleaſe, if we be Maſters of it. The uſe of Names cauſeth rather a readineſs in Reaſoning than begetteth Reaſon; and, I think, you ſomewhere, in your *Leviathan* (*a*) do confeſs it. So that I may ſay of Names, as you have done of Symbols in Geometry, that themſelves are not Science (*b*), but ſerve only to make men go faſter about, in Reaſoning; as greater wind to a wind-mill.

a *Lev. p.* 12 *in the end, & p.* 14.

b *Ep. ded. Def.* b *Leſſ.*

Well, I have talk'd my ſelf into a neceſſity of drinking this untempting Ale. Sir, A good Health to you.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Your Servant, Sir,——that Liquor is not very proper for Philoſophers.

Stud. This very Draught has put me in mind of an Objection, which makes me extreamly to diſlike the Doctrine of Mechanick Ratiocination.

This muddy Ale, it ſeems, ſhall in ſome part of it, circle with the Blood, and be ſublimed in the Heart, and ſent up in Arteries to the Head, and there ſhall perceive, imagin, remember, and help me to Philoſophize, and to make divine Diſcourſes; and give me not only the warmth, but the very eſſence of Mental or Verbal Prayer and Thankſgiving. Nay (that we may paſs, in due time, to our *Sixt Subject*), it ſhall alſo *Will* and *Nill*: which

which I find I may do; and think ſtrange that I can do ſo by the meer power of Matter.

Mr. *Hobbes.* There (*a*) are certain and neceſſary cauſes which make every man to will what he willeth.

a *Libert. & Necc. p.* 61

Stud. Herein, I confeſs, you diſagree not from your ſelf, though you ſeem at the wideſt diſtance from the truth. And *Regius* (*b*) is much more to be blamed for inconſiſtency, who aſſerting that the Soul might be a mode of the Body, did yet profeſs that the Will was free; and, in his own phraſe, *ſui juris*. For your ſelf, it was fit, upon ſuppoſition of your belief of a Corporeal Univerſe, that you ſhould maintain a neceſſity of Willing. For if every thing be Matter, each effect in the World, being the meer reſult of motion in Matter, will be produced by fatal impulſe: And, likewiſe, that producing impulſe, will be neceſſitated by a former, and ſo on in ſo long an order, as cannot be purſu'd, (without the admittance of an Incorporeal God) to any end of it, diſtinctly known. Wherefore the *Stoicks*, long before you, ſuppoſing God to be a kind of Fire, and the Soul to be a ſubtil Body; held alſo the opinion of Irreſiſtible Fate. And *Plutarch*, and *Stobæus* take notice of both Opinions together, as I find them cited by *Lipſius* in his *Manuduction* (*c*) to that Philoſophy: Upon which occaſion, a worthy and learned perſon, hath in his Diſcourſe at the Funeral of Biſhop *Hall*, deſervedly call'd you the *New Stoick*. If then there be nothing more divine in Man, than Matter and Motion; he does as neceſſarily chuſe or refuſe, as

b *Phil. nat. p.* 478.

c *J. Lypſ. Phyſ. Stoi. l.* 1. *p.* 28.

as Fire aſcends, or a Stone is preſſed towards the Earth.

a *Libert. & Neceſſ.* p. 17, 18.

Mr. *Hobbes.* It is no more (*a*) neceſſary that Fire ſhould burn, than that a man or other creature, whoſe Limbs be moved by Fancy, ſhould have Election, that is Liberty, to do what he hath a fancy to do, though it be not in his Will or Power to chooſe his fancy, or to chooſe his Election and Will. Good (*b*) and evil ſequels of Mens Actions retained in Memory, do frame and make us to the Election of whatſoever it be that we elect; and the memory of ſuch things proceeds from the Senſes, and Senſe from the operation of the Objects of ſenſe, (which are external to us, and govern'd only by God Almighty) and by conſequence all actions, even of free and voluntary Agents, are neceſſary.

b *Liber. & Nec.* p. 61, & 62.

Stud. Were Man ſuch a piece of Mechaniſm as has been forged by your untoward invention much of the Cauſe would be granted to you: and yet, not this, that the Memory of good or evil Sequels of Mens Actions do frame us unto Every election; becauſe there are too many whom no examples of Puniſhment will deterr from ſuch evil manners, as they ſee daily producing bitter effects. But, ſeeing it has been prov'd that there is in Man, an Immaterial Soul; it follows thence, that the Motions from the Object, continued to the Brain and Heart, can only ſolicite, and not force the Aſſent of that Incorporeal Being which giveth them paſſage, or reſiſteth them, and determineth them at its pleaſure, in divers caſes. Neither

ther can outward force any more reſtrain this Spiritual mind, than *Xerxes* could properly fetter the *Helleſpont*. There is then, left me but little work in oppugning your Opinion about Liberty and Neceſſity, ſeeing the foundation of your belief of Fate, is the Corporeity of the Univerſe.

It is alſo, to be conſidered, that a Perſon of great fame and place, hath already contended with you; ſo very much to your diſadvantage, that it ſeems not worth the while for any Man henceforth, to enter the liſts. And of this I will not make my ſelf the Judg, but repeat the opinion of a Learned Man, who was wont to declare his mind in Controverſies, with unbyaſſed freedom. It is known every where (ſaid that Elegant (*a*) Writer), with what Piety and acumen [the laſt Lord Primate of all *Ireland*] wrote againſt the *Manichean* Doctrine of fatal Neceſſity, which a late witty Man had pretended to adorn with a new vizor; but this excellent perſon waſh'd off the Ceruſſe, and the Meritricious Paintings; rarely well aſſerted the Oeconomy of the Divine Providence; and having once more triumph'd over his Adverſary, *Plenus Victoriarum & Trophæorum*, betook himſelf to the more agreeable attendance upon Sacred Offices.

(*a*) a Biſhop *Taylor's Fun. Ser.* on Biſhop *Bramhall*, *p.* 55, 56.

Mr. *Hobbes*. This luxuriant Pen-man boaſts of Trophies; and the Biſhop himſelf, of old, talk'd of (*b*) clearing the coaſt by Diſtinctions, and dividing his forces into two ſquadrons, one of places of Scripture, the other of Reaſons. And I ſay notwithſtanding (to continue

(*b*) *Liber. & Neceſſ. p.* 5.

in

in the military allusion begun by them) that in my Books (*a*) not only his squadrons of Arguments, but also his reserve of Distinctions are defeated.

a *Lib. & Nec. p. 64.*

Stud. I perceive you intend to make good the Character now given of you, of being a witty Man: although, according to the Principles of your own Philosophy, it redoundeth not much to your reputation. For Wit (*b*) depending upon a tenuity and agility of spirits, there seemeth wanting in a very witty Man, that fixation of parts which is required to Prudence.

b See *Hu. Nat. p.* 124

Touching your Antagonist, there is no doubt (and it appeareth by your fretting and sprawling) that you have felt the smart of that Opposition which he hath made against you. But, so far as I can remember, (for I have not had for some years, any writing of his in my possession) he hath not level'd his men in force against that place wherein you seem (to me) most capable of being wounded, and wherein your chief strength seemeth to lay; that is to say, the Materiality of the whole Sphære of Nature. In relation to which, I am apt to be perswaded, that in this Controversie about Fate, you by a daring consequence, do charge the most holy God with all the iniquities committed in the World. For all Effects arising from Motion, and all Motion being derived from the first immoveable Mover, all subordinate Causes and Effects will owe themselves in a chain-like dependance, to the supreme Original Cause.

Mr. *Hobbes.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* The concourse (a) of all causes maketh not one simple chain or concatenation, but an innumerable number of Chains, joyned together, not in all parts, but in the first link, God Almighty.——That which, I say, necessitateth (b) and determineth every action, is the sum of all things, which being now existent, conduce and concur to the production of that Action hereafter, whereof if any one thing now were wanting, the effect could not be produced: This concourse of Causes, whereof every one is determined to be such as it is by a like concourse of former Causes, may well be called (in respect they were all set and ordered by the eternal Cause of all things, God Almighty) The Decree of God. Every act (c) of mans will, and every desire and inclination proceedeth from some cause, and that from another cause, in a continual Chain (whose first link is in the hand of God, the Cause of all Causes); and therefore the voluntary Actions of Men proceed from Necessity.

a *Lib. & Nec. p. 16.*

b *Lib. & Nec. p. 15.*

c *Rev. c. 21 p. 168.*

Stud. Impute not that, with falshood and dishonour, to God, which is caused by Man's unconstrained Will; the only Mother which conceiveth and bringeth forth Sin; notwithstanding that Objects may incline, and Examples may entice, and opportunities may invite, and evil Angels may tempt, and Constitution may encline, and God permitteth. Let no Man, therefore, say, when he is tempted, he is tempted of God; for, every Man is tempted when he is drawn away by his own lust, and enticed.

Mr. *Hobbes.*

a *Liber. & Nec. p.* 24.

Mr. *Hobbes.* 'Tis Blasphemy (a) to say, God can sin; but to say, that God can so order the World as a sin may be necessarily caused thereby in a Man, I do not see how it is any dishonour to Him.

Stud. These Answers should not have proceeded from a Man, who professeth himself a Christian of no mean degree. They come (I was ready to say) as unexpectedly, as if they had dropped out of the Heavens; but that they have relation to a lower place. If we brand mortal Men with Names of Infamy and tokens of our abhorence, calling them unmerciful, bloody, deceitful; who are said by you, in all their actions, to be drawn by Fate; how can we speak or think with honour of the Deity, whilst we apprehend him as the Original Causer of all those evils, for which we (unhurt) abominate one another; which he himself hath told us he doth abhor; and for the commission of which Immoralities he will execute vengeance upon the brutish part of Mankind? When a Sword is sheathed in the Bowels of an innocent and good Man; we reproach not the bloody Weapon which was moved by force; but we give titles of extraordinary dishonour to the barbarous will of that savage Man, who made it an instrument of such dreadful mischief. If men be carryed on in all their Circumstances, by the mighty torrent of irresistible Motion; their iniquities, and the dishonours due unto them, are chargable upon the source and spring of Motion. If Men are necessitated to act or omit, as also to will or to refuse;

b *Hi Cons. p.* 46, 47. Nor can the clamor of my Adversaries make me think my self, a worse Christian than the best of them.

refuse, then Exhortations unto such Duties as they perform not, are bitter taunts, and like commands to a Cripple to rise up and walk; and punishment for such evils as they commit, is a cruel usage; and a declaration against Sin, as hated by the first Cause, (who cannot be thought in earnest to detest his own workmanship); and as the default of Man (who is asked in Scripture why he will die? whilst his very Will to die, is by you supposed fatal) is imperious mockery, and unworthy deceit. St. *Austin* himself in his 10th. cap. *de Fide, contra Manicheos* (*a*), speaketh in words to the same effect; 'Who a '(said the Father) may not cry out, that it is a 'ridiculous thing to bind Precepts upon him, 'who is not at liberty to obey them; and an 'unrighteous thing to condemn that man who 'had no power to perform what he was com-'manded? And what can be said of God, which may betoken honour, if he be once accused as the Author of Sin?

(*a*) *Quis non clamet stultum esse præcepta dare ei, cui libram non est quod præcipitur facere. Et iniquum esse eum damnare, cui non fuit potestas jussa complere?*

Mr. *Hobbes*. Men (*b*) may do many things which God does not command; and therefore he is not the Author of them.

(*b*) Lev. cap. 21. p. 108.

Stud. He is more the Author, who doth secretly necessitate, than he who only does command the effect; in as much as a command may, as it is daily, be disobey'd, but power irresistible is not to be eluded. And *David* would have bin more entirely and notoriously the Murtherer of *Uriah*, by forcing the armed hand of an *Ammonite* upon him, and the *Ammonite* less guilty; than by a bare appointing of him to be placed in the Front of the Battel. Besides, it seems superfluous

perfluous to command the doing of that, which the supposed Commander (with or without promulgation of his Will) does unavoidably bring to pass: for you make God the first Causer of all that is performed, even against the Revelation of his pleasure.

a *Lev.* ib. *Mr. Hobbes.* I grant that, though (*a*) Men may do many things which God does not command; yet that they can have no passion, nor appetite to any thing, of which appetite God's Will is not the Cause.

Soud. Why then did accused *Adam* transfer the blame on *Eve*, and she upon the Serpent? It had been an excuse, if it might have been a true reply, for both of them to have said, Thou thy self didst force us unto that, which by thee is so severely reprehended. The Serpent himself at the hearing of his doom, remained silent: the very Father of Lies not being impudent in so excessive a degree, as to charge the Almighty with his own evils. Wherefore, in ascribing Sin to God as the first cause of it, you put me in mind of their fancy, upon a mistaken Text, who (*b*) affirm'd *Leviathan* to be the very Father of the Devil. I cannot heartily beg your pardon for that note, because it is necessary that I be zealous, when once the holiness and goodness of God is reproached by humane wit, impudence, madness.

b See *Heinsii Exer. Sac.* p. 227.

Mr. Hobbes. Condemn not in such a furious way, good Doctor (*c*) of Morality, for with as ill manners you affirm that God is the Permitter, as I have done, in saying he is the Cause of every action.

c *Of Iust.* p. 64.

I am

I am (a) not ignorant that Divines diſtinguiſh between Will and Permiſſion; and ſay, that, God Almighty does indeed ſometimes permit ſins, and that he alſo foreknoweth that the ſin he permitteth ſhall be committed, but does not will nor neceſſitate it.——But I find no difference between the Will to have a thing done, and the permiſſion to do it, when he that permitteth can hinder it, and knows that it will be done unleſs he hinder it.

a *L. & N. p.* 22. 23.

Stud. The difference is heavenly-wide betwixt bare Permiſſion, and that Will which you have fancied in Almighty God; a Will attended with ſuch a diſpoſal of all things, as begetteth a neceſſity in Man's Will of doing Gods. For no Man ever could imagin (your ſelf excepted) that bare Permiſſion ſhould have the influence of a neceſſary Cauſe; whereas ſuch influence is aſcrib'd, by you, to the Will of God. It appeareth by the Revelation which God hath made to Man, that he does ſo will Religion that it would be more pleaſing to him for Man to obey, than to remain perverſe; yet not in ſuch a manner, that he compelleth him to become his ſubject by active compliance: for that were to unmake Man as ſuch, that is, as a creature endu'd with a free Will. When God ſaith of his Vineyard, which made not ſuch returns of fruitfulneſs as were proportion'd to his cultivation of it, that he could do no more for it than he had done; he declared plainly that he uſed ſuch means as were conſiſtent with a liberty in Man of neglecting or miſimproving them: And the exerciſe of this liberty in ſinning he permitteth, in regard to Man's free

b See *Levi p.* 108.

free nature; and because he can, not only chastise him for his delinquency, but likewise, by his Methods and infinite wisdom, bring good out of it. There being then in God, in many cases, a Conditional Will, that will, without the rescinding of any law of Man's unconstrain'd Election, is always done, either by the obedience of Man, or by the vindication of abused mercy in the correction of a stubborn sinner. And thus we have seen how injurious your Doctrine of Necessity, hath been to the just honour of the most Holy Will of God. It is, also, manifest that by the same way, I will not call of reason, but of bold asseveration, you upbraid all Laws, whereby any punishment is inflicted upon Malefactors, of most rigorous and unreasonable procedure; and thereby, after dishonour done to God, you vilifie his Vicegerents. For, why is the Scourge or Brand, the Rope, or Fire; the Press, Axe, or Bullet, prepared for those Men, who do not, by their own free choice and power, lay open the fence which Authority hath set down; but are hurried through it by a foreign violence, against which it is in vain to struggle? Sword and Pistol, or whatsoever is an instrument in the violation of the Law, or safety of Man, is as guilty as Man himself, and with indignation to be broken in pieces; if Man be unavoidably and fatally managed (as in a Puppet-play) by a foreign hand, discern'd only by you who pretend to see within the Curtain. I remember to have read, that *Draco*, the *Athenian*, made a Law, whereby the very Instruments of Homicide were punish'd. And the Sons of him that perished by the fall

of

of *Nicon's* Statue (*a*) which he had whipped, in order to the greater infamy of *Nicon*, condemn'd the Statue as a Murtherer, and with ſolemnity, threw it into the Sea. But they were not ſo ſottiſh, by theſe Laws and practiſes, to pretend a real puniſhment of ſuch Inſtruments; but they deſign'd, to move Beholders to the greater abhorrence of ſpilling human Blood; and they gave ſome vent to the fermenting rage of their inward paſſion, which might have ſwell'd to their greater diſcommodity, if they had not ſought ſome means of diſcharging it.

a *Suidas in Nicon.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* 'Tis (*b*) unreaſonable to puniſh ſome Actions of Men, which could not be juſtly done by man to man, unleſs the ſame were voluntary. —— The (*c*) nature of Sin conſiſteth in this, that the Action done proceed from our Will, and be againſt the Law. A Judg, in judging whether it be a ſin or no which is done againſt the Law, looks at no higher cauſe in the Action than the Will of the doer. Now when I ſay, the Action is neceſſary, I do not ſay it was done againſt the will of the Doer, but with his will. —— And (*d*) the Will to break the Law, maketh the Action unjuſt; becauſe the Law regardeth the Will, and no other precedent Cauſes of Action.

b *Lib. Nec. p. 66.*

c *Lib. Nec. p. 41, 42.*

d *Lib. & Nec. p. 27, 28.*

Stud. The Will, if we have regard to the Opinion which you hold concerning it, can neither render the Action unjuſt; or the Judg righteous in his ſentence of Condemnation: becauſe every Volition (*e*) or Act of the Will and Purpoſe of Man is, by outward violence, made unavoidable; and the beginning (*f*) and

e See *Lib. & Neceſſ. p. 42.*

f See *L. & Nec, p. 17.*

progress of deliberation dependeth, also, upon necessary Causes.

a *Lib. & N. p.* 71, 72. Mr. *Hobbes.* I acknowledg that (*a*) when first a Man hath a Will to something, to which immediately before he had no Appetite nor Will; the cause of the Will is not the Will it self, but something else, not in his own disposing. So that whereas it is out of controversie, that of Voluntary Actions, the Will is the necessary Cause; and by this which is said, the Will is also caused by other things whereof it disposeth not: it followeth, that Voluntary Actions have all of them necessary causes, and therefore are necessitated.

Stud. Wherefore, if the Law inflicteth capital punishment upon a Man with regard unto his Will; the Man suffers for that which was not in his power to help; and is therefore to be reckoned amongst those whose blood is shed without any proper stain in it.

b *Lib. & Nec. p.* 25. Mr. *Hobbes.* Men (*b*) are justly killed, not for that their Actions are necessitated, but because they are noxious.

c L. & N. *p.* 30. ——Men are not (*c*) therefore put to death, or punished, for that their theft proceedeth from Election, but because it was noxious, & contrary to Mens preservation.

Stud. The Law regards the free choice, though it hath respect also to the mischief derived on the Commonwealth. Wherefore there have been Cities of Refuge constituted for the safeguard of those who had unwittingly, kill'd a man; whilst the wilful Murtherers were to repay blood for blood. And amongst our selves the blood of the most unuseful person in the Land, shall be avenged by the death of the ablest

ablest Soldier, or Counsellor, if the Law may have its course, and it be satisfi'd, that he shed it with a deliberate stroke; whilst a pitiful ignorant Cripple shall escape, if by meer mischance, he shall slay such a man as is able to serve a Kingdom, either by his Sword or Prudence. In which cases, the Laws have regard, rather to the wilfulness than the noxiousness of the Actors. So also in the *Roman* Law * (reported by *Paulus J. C. de pœnis Paganorum*) he that wilfully burnt an house was to suffer death; but he that, by accident, burnt a Village, or an Island, was but a Debtor. But if noxiousness be the Rule of Judging, then are you to change your phrase and say, not that men are punished (which presupposeth a crime) but afflicted or killed; after the manner of Beasts, which, not being capable of Law, do perish without Law; as their ruin conduceth to the behoof or security of Man. And therefore the Civil Law (*a*) calleth not the fact of a Beast *injuria*, but *damnum*; and determineth that a Beast, being devoid of Reason, can do no *Injury*.

* *Mosaic. & Roman. Leg. Collat. Tit.* 12. *p.* 37.

(*a*) *L. 1. ff. ſi Quadrup. §. 1.*

Mr. *Hobb.* As for (*b*) Beasts, we kill them justly when we do't in ord'r to our own preservation.

(*b*) *Lib. & Nec. p.* 30.

Stud. But that Justice dependeth upon the dominion which God hath vouchsafed Man over those Creatures to which some will not allow so much as sense, * and many no more than direct Perception; though you are so profuse, in one of your Books (*c*), as to grant them Election and Deliberation. And here, let it be observed, that God who hath given this Dominion to Man, hath revealed it also to be his purpose, not to rule and judg him by absolute

* See *Descartes in* 2. *vol. Epist. lat. p.* 6, 7, &c.

(*c*) *Lib. & Nec. p.* 10, 11, 12.

absolute Soveraignty; nor to approve of Men, whilst they measure their Right amongst themselves by a power not to be controll'd. But he hath shew'd that he will govern them, and have you deal with one another, according to the equal Laws of their reasonable Nature.

Mr. Hobbes. You run on in Exceptions against that Doctrine of Necessity, which I have proposed; but you take no notice of the inconveniencies wherewith your own opinion is pressed. And first, you take no notice of the consistence of Freedom and Necessity; or that God and good Angels (*a*) are supposed to be freer than Men, and yet do good necessarily. It was (*b*) a very great praise, in my opinion, that *Velleius Paterculus* gives *Cato*, where he says, That he was good by Nature; *Et quia aliter esse non potuit.*

a *Lib. & Nec. p.* 48.

b *L. & N. p.* 34.

Stud. The Necessity wherewith Almighty God doth always good, is of a kind extremely different from that Physical co-action which you believe to be the Cause of each effect. For, he determineth himself by the eternal Reason of his own most perfect nature, and is not urged by outward impulses; which if it could once be attributed to him, he would, straightway, cease to be God Omnipotent.

Mr. Hobbes. That word, Omnipotent, reminds me of a second inconvenience, which attendeth the Opposers of my Doctrine. For if (*c*) Gods Will did not assure the necessity of Man's Will, and consequently of all that on Man's Will dependeth; the Liberty of Men would be a contradiction and impediment to the Omnipotence and Liberty of God.

c *Lev. c.* 21. *p.* 98.

Stud.

Stud. It is in you abſurd to mention Liberty even in relation to God himſelf; becauſe, by aſcribing to him a Material Nature, you aſſign him no Motions but ſuch as ariſe from Phyſical compulſion.——But, upon what account is it ſaid by you, that the Omnipotence of God muſt be obſtructed by the grant of an undetermin'd liberty in Man? It is not, that I know of, affirm'd by any Diſputant, that there is ſuch a lawleſs Liberty in Man, as is not under ſubjection to the abſolute Power of God, but that it is a Liberty which God Almighty, in an agreeableneſs to the free nature of Man, hath been pleas'd to grant; and for the greater part to ſuffer in the exerciſe of it. Only it is ſaid concerning ſin, that God cannot force the Will of Man to the commiſſion of it: for, the production of ſuch a wretched Iſſue, would argue, not omnipotency, but impotence and imperfection in the parent of it. God created Man, and gave a Law to him; and deſign'd not to uſe his Almighty Power to effect the fulfilling of that Law; which Power ſuppoſeth the Command of a Law to be in vain. He therefore that interpoſeth not his Power whilſt he may, hath not his Power diſanulled when his preceptive Will is only withſtood, and he permitteth that diſobedience.

Mr. *Hobbes.* But what Eluſion can be invented touching the foreknowledg of God? The denying neceſſity (*a*) deſtroyeth both the Decrees and Preſcience of God Almighty; for, whatſoever God hath purpoſed to bring to paſs by Man, as an inſtrument, or foreſeeth ſhall come to paſs; a Man if he have Liberty,

(*a*) *Lib. & Nec. p.* 79, 80.

from neceſſitation, might fruſtrate and make not to come to paſs; and God ſhould either not foreknow it, and not decree it; or he ſhould foreknow ſuch things ſhall be, as ſhall never be, and decree that which ſhall never come to paſs.

Stud. Touching the Decees of God, it cannot be proved that they extend to all things which come to paſs. For his Preſcience I'm ſure, that it extendeth to all things poſſible to be known, and that it hath no neceſſary influence upon the Event; it doth neither hinder the Power of God, nor the Liberty of Man. God foreſeeth that the Event may come to paſs, and that he will not hinder it, yet that he might: and it cometh to paſs moſt neceſſarily if God foreſeeth it; but the neceſſity ariſeth from the ſuppoſition of the infallibility, and not from any cauſal energy, of divine foreknowledg. It is manifeſt by the fulfilled Propheſies of divers inſpired Men, that there is Preſcience; and a man may alſo be aſſured, that neither is his Liberty intringed by it, nor Preſcience by his Liberty. It is evident to every Man, in many caſes, (as evident as that he perceiveth at all or underſtandeth) that he willeth or refuſeth without any conſtraint upon his freedom. But there is great difficulty in unridling the manner of the conſiſtence of Foreknowledg and Liberty; becauſe, although there be ſome notion, yet there is not a knowledg, fully comprehenſive of the Divine Wiſdom, in a finite Soul. Thus much, notwithſtanding, may, with ſobriety be offer'd towards the explication of this myſterious truth; that the boundleſs wiſdom of God who made the World, underſtanding the Laws

and

and Operations of his Workmanſhip from the beginning to the end of them, underſtandeth alſo the nature of all appearances in all Objects in relation to the mind of Man, in every Eſtate wherein he is placed, and at all times, together with the diſpoſitions of each Man's Soul, and thereby foreſeeth what he will refuſe or chuſe, whilſt he had power (abſolutely ſpeaking) otherwiſe either to elect or reject. He that ſhould drop a piece of money, by an undiſcerned hand, in the way of a man afflicted with extream poverty; the ſame perſon might readily foreſee, that the eſpied money would infallibly be taken up by that poor man, though he could not but underſtand that the Beggar had ſo much power over his own limbs, as not to ſtoop unleſs he pleaſed.

But it ſeemeth not worth the time and pains to reconcile to your apprehenſion, the Doctrins of Foreknowledg, and undetermin'd Liberty; becauſe this Objection is by you, propoſed, in order to the amuſing of other Men's Reaſons rather than in juſtification of the Truth, For, according to your Principles, all evidence or knowledg ariſeth from Objects already in being. Neither underſtand you this of Eſſence in the Senſe of the Metaphyſick-Schools, but of the actual preſence of cauſed Objects.

Mr *Hobbes*. In my Opinion (*a*), Foreknowledg is Knowledg, and Knowledg depends on the exiſtence of things known, & not they on it. (*a*) *Lib. & Nec. p.* 16.

However, the Objection ſerveth for the incommoding of thoſe who maintain another ſort of Foreknowledg; but the argument on which I eſtabliſh my Doctrine is of another kind.

I hold

I hold (a) that to be a ſufficient cauſe, to which nothing is wanting that is needful to the producing of the effect. The ſame alſo is a neceſſary cauſe: For, if it be poſſible that a ſufficient cauſe ſhall not bring forth the effect, then there wanteth ſomewhat which was needful to the producing of it, and ſo the Cauſe was not ſufficient; but if it be impoſſible that a ſufficient Cauſe ſhould not produce the Effect, then is a ſufficient Cauſe a neceſſary Cauſe; (for that is ſaid to produce an Effect neceſſarily, that cannot but produce it.) Hence it is manifeſt, that whatſoever is produced is produced neceſſarily, for whatſoever is produced hath had a ſufficient Cauſe to produce it, or elſe it had not been; and therefore alſo, voluntary actions are neceſſitated.

(a) Lib. & Ne, 72, 73.

Stud. In the alterations made in Bodies, every ſufficient is an efficient Cauſe, by reaſon that matter ſufficiently moved cannot ſtay it ſelf, but is wholly determin'd by foreign impulſe; which impulſe alſo had an undefeated determination. But becauſe I have proved the exiſtence of an Immaterial Soul, I may affirm that all outward preparations being made, ſo that there remaineth nothing wanting but the Act of Volition; the Spiritual Mind not being overcome by the ſway of Matter, hath a power to abſtain from acting, though perhaps it is not pleaſed to uſe it. And this we may illuſtrate by the Example of *Abraham*, whoſe Fire, & Wood, and Son to be a Victim, and Sacrificing-knife, were in a readineſs and ſufficient ſtrength, with theſe, to execute the Command which God Almighty, by way of trial, had given to him: yet

who

who can doubt that *Abraham* had a power, at the same time, to render these preparations useless, and to be disobedient? For, how could those Objects and this Command conveigh a sence into his Will, and thence into his Arm, to slay his Son? though they might present him with a reason which the goodness of his Disposition would not refuse; The intention of *Abraham* to slay his Son was wrought by a Moral, and not a Physical, or Natural Power.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Natural (a) efficacy of Objects does determine voluntary Agents, and necessitates the Will, and consequently the Action; but for Moral efficacy, I understand not what you mean. a L. & N. p. 16.

Study. I understand by Moral efficacy, the perswasive power of such Motives as those which arise from fear, and love, and trust, and gratitude, and especially such as arise from the meer reason of the Case; as when a man doth therefore give Alms, meerly because he apprehends it to be more blessed to give than to receive, and not to be rid of the pang of compassion, or to obtain praise or other reward. By such Motives, the Mind is often prevail'd upon, without the force of Corporeal Motion, being wooed, and not pressed unavoidably into Consent. Of these Motives, that of Fear, may seem to have Mechanick force; because, that Passion is often stirred up by the horror of Objects, disturbing the natural course of the Blood. But it will be granted by your self, that the very passion of Fear doth not compell, but incline the Will: For, you acknowledg (a) that Fear and Liberty are consistent; as when a Man throweth b *Leviath.* p. 108.

eth his Goods into the Sea for fear the Ship should sink, he doth it nevertheless very willingly, and may refuse to do it if he will: It is therefore the action of one that was free. Seeing then the Incorporeal Soul of Man is induced by perswasion, and not compelled by Natural Motion; you may as soon convince me, that every sufficient Man (as we are wont to call a wealthy person) is therefore a dispenser of his Goods, and a liberal Man; as that the immaterial Soul is, forthwith, compell'd to act, when all things are present which are needful to the producing of the effect, and all impediments are removed.

a *Lib. & Nec. p.* 73. Mr. *Hobbes.* To say that an Agent (*a*) in such Circumstances, can nevertheless not produce the effect, implies a contradiction, and is nonsence, being as much as to say, the Cause may be sufficient, that is to say, necessary, and yet

b L. & N. *p.* 76, 77. the effect shall not follow. That all (*b*) Events have necessary Causes, hath been proved already, in that they have sufficient Causes. Further, let us in this place also suppose any Event never so casual, as the throwing (for example) Ames-Ace upon a pair of Dice, and see, if it must not have been necessary before 'twas thrown. For, seeing it was thrown, it had a beginning, and consequently a sufficient cause to produce it, consisting partly in the Dice, partly in outward things, as the posture of the parts of the hand, the measure of force applied by the Caster, the posture of the parts of the Table, and the like: In sum, there was nothing wanting which was necessarily requisite to the producing of that particular Cast, & consequently the

Cast

Caſt was neceſſarily thrown; for if it had not been thrown, there had wanted ſomewhat requiſite to the throwing of it, and ſo the cauſe had not been ſufficient.

Stud. Here you make inſtance in an Event reſulting from Circumſtances of Bodies, and from Phyſical motion: in relation to which I have already granted, that a ſufficient is an efficient Cauſe; and declar'd the reaſon of it; and how it toucheth not the preſent buſineſs. But by this laſt Anſwer I begin to underſtand that you obtrude a Sophiſm upon me, inſtead of a real Argument. For, whilſt you ſay, that ſufficient is the ſame which neceſſary, and that if the Caſt had not been thrown, there was ſomething wanting; you include, in your ſufficient Cauſe, when you ſpeak of Man, the very act of Volition, beſides all the furniture prepared for that act: And then your meaning amounts to this, that when there is each thing needful, and no impediment, and alſo a Will to act, the effect followeth. But here you beg the Queſtion, which is this; Whether, all things requiſite to action being preſent, the will and act of Volition excepted, the Soul hath not a power to forbear that Act? and whilſt you ſuppoſe a removal of impediments, and the preſence of all things neceſſary, and the act of the Will alſo; and then ſay, the Cauſe is ſufficient and efficient too, you ſay no more, than that a Man produceth neceſſarily, an effect, whilſt he produceth it; which indeed is a truth, (for he cannot act and not act at the ſame time) but in the preſent Controverſie it is an egregious Impertinence. For, the Neceſſity which you

ſpeak

ſpeak of, is not in the Will it ſelf, or in the Effect; but in that conſequence which the mind createth, by ſuppoſing that the Will complieth with the means, and that, whilſt it chuſeth, it cannot but chuſe. Wherefore this fallacy is like to theirs, who ſay, the Will is neceſſarily determin'd by the laſt act of the Underſtanding, meaning, becauſe it is the laſt: they ſuppoſe the laſt act, and that the Will cloſeth with the Underſtanding, and then they ſay, it followeth upon neceſſity: which is no more than to affirm, that there is nothing later than the laſt. And if I am not impos'd upon by my memory, you ſomewhere argue (*a*), that the Will is the laſt appetite in deliberating; and that therefore, though we ſay in common Diſcourſe, A man had once a will to do a thing, that nevertheles he forbears to do; yet that is not properly a will, becauſe the action depends not of it, but of the laſt inclination or appetite. You ſuppoſe the Will to be the laſt Inclination, and that therefore the Action depends upon it, becauſe it is the laſt; and then you call it ſufficient and neceſſary, when you have made it to be ſuch; not in its own nature, but by the ſuppoſition framed in your own brain. And thus you have made a great noiſe and kackling about Sufficient and Efficient, whilſt there is nothing here ſaid by you, which is not as inſipid as the white of an Egg.

a *Leviath. c. 6. p. 28.*

But of that Neceſſity which is ſaid to compell the Will of Man, enough; let us conſider that Law which obligeth it, though not by force to action, yet upon default, to punishment. And that we may proceed in order, let our beginning be made at

Our

Our Seventh Head, The *Law of Nature*, that inward Law, in relation to which each Man is a Magiſtrate to himſelf, erecting a Tribunal in his own Breaſt.

Mr. *Hobbes.* There is (*a*) right, and alſo, a Law of Nature. The Right of Nature, is the Liberty each Man hath, to uſe his own power as he will himſelf, for the preſervation of his own nature, that is to ſay, of his own life; and conſequently of doing any thing, which in his own judgment, and reaſon, he ſhall conceive to be the apteſt means thereunto.—The Law of Nature is a precept, or general Rule, found out by Reaſon, by which a Man is forbidden to do that which is deſtructive of his life, or taketh away the means of preſerving the ſame; and to omit, that, by which he thinketh, it may be beſt preſerved,—the ſum of the Right of the right of Nature, is, by all means we can to defend our ſelves: This is (*b*) the firſt foundation of Natural Right.

a *Leviath. c.* 14. *p.* 64

b *De Civ. c.* 1. *p.* 11. *Juris naturalis fundamentum primum eſt, ut quiſq; vitam & membra ſua, quantum poteſt tueatur.*

Stud. The diſtinction betwixt the Right, and the Law of Nature, is, with good reaſon, to be admitted. But you ought not to challenge it * to your ſelf, ſeeing it is expreſsly noted by divers ancient Authors, and in particular, by *Laurentius Valla* (*c*). That which you add, ſeemeth as falſe as the other is ancient. For the right dictate of Natural Reaſon obliging Man (not yet ſuppos'd a Member of the great Community) to an orderly behaviour towards God, and his Parents, as alſo towards his own Soul and Body, in caſes which concern, and which concern not, life & death, is the Law of Nature.

* *Leviat. p.* 64. they that ſpeak of this Subject uſe to confound *Jus* and *Lex.*

c *Laurent. Vall. Eleganc. l.* 4. *c.* 48. *p.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* The Dictates of Reaſon [concerning

cerning Vice and Virtue[a] Men (*b*) uſe to call by the name of Laws, but improperly: for they are but Concluſions, or Theorems, concerning what conduceth to the conſervation, and defence of themſelves; whereas Law properly is the word of him, who by Right hath command over others.

a *Lev c.15 p.80. lin.8 &c.*

b *Ibid. line 17, &c.*

Stud. Theſe Dictates being the Natural Operations of our Minds, the Being, and undepraved condition of which in right reaſoning, we owe to God; we cannot but eſteem them as the voice of God within us, and conſequently Law: wherefore St. *Paul* calleth the Rule of Natural Conſcience amongſt the Gentiles, the Law written in their Hearts.--But whence doth it come to paſs, that ſelf-intereſt is laid by you as the foundation-ſtone of the Law of Nature? in ſuch ſort, that nothing is unlawful which conduceth to ſuch preſervation. For, it is commonly taught amongſt us, that many things are condemn'd by the light of Reaſon; and that we ought not to do evil that good may come on't; but preſer the Law of God in nature before private Utility; it being the trueſt Self-intereſt to loſe the preſent ſecular advantage, for the future recompence of ſuch as, with peril, obey God.

Mr *Hobbes.* The Reaſons of my Opinion are manifeſt. Becauſe it is natural for Man to avoid pain (*c*) and purſue utility; and becauſe in the ſtate of Nature, there is nothing unlawful againſt others. For (*d*) the deſires, and other paſſions of Man, are in themſelves no ſin: no more are the actions that proceed from thoſe Paſſions, 'till they know a Law that forbids them: which

c *De Civ. p.11. fertur unuſquiſq; &c.*

d *Leviath. c.13 p.62.*

which, till Laws be made, they cannot know: nor can any Law be made, 'till they have agreed upon the perſon that ſhall make it.

Stud. Unleſs you explain your ſelf concerning this ſtate of Nature which you ſpeak of, the way of our proceeding will be darkned by words.

Mr. *Hobbes.* The natural condition of Mankind may be thus explained.

Nature hath made Men ſo equal (*a*) in the faculties of Body and Mind; as that, when all is reckoned together, the difference between Man and Man, is not ſo conſiderable, as that one man can thereupon claim to himſelf any benefit to which another may not pretend as well as he.

a *Lev. c.* 13 *p.* 60, *to* 63. *more at large.*

From this equality of ability, ariſeth equality of hope in the attaining of our ends. And therefore if any two Men, deſire the ſame thing, which nevertheleſs they cannot both enjoy, they become Enemies; and in the way to their end (which is principally their own conſervation, and ſometimes their Delectation only) endeavour to deſtroy or ſubdue one another. Whereupon ſome are invited to invade others, and from others may fear the like invaſion.

From equality of ability, competition ariſeth fomented by equality of hope; and from thence diffidence of one another: And from this diffidence attended with deſire of glory in conquering, there ariſeth a war of every Man againſt every Man.

And therefore, whatſoever is conſequent to a time of War, where every Man is enemy to every Man; the ſame is conſequent to the

time wherein men live without other ſecurity, than what their own ſtrength, and their own invention ſhall furniſh them withal. In ſuch condition, there is no place for induſtry; becauſe the fruit thereof is uncertain; and conſequently no culture of the earth, no Navigation, nor uſe of the Commodities that may be imported by Sea; no commodious building; no inſtruments of moving and removing ſuch things as require much force; no knowledg of the face of the earth; no account of time, no Arts, no Letters; no Society; and, which is worſt of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, ſolitary, poor, naſty, brutiſh, and ſhort.

To this War of every Man againſt every Man, this alſo is conſequent, That nothing can be unjuſt. The notions of Right and wrong, juſtice and injuſtice have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no Law; where no Law, no Injuſtice. Force and Fraud, are in war the two Cardinal Virtues. Juſtice and Injuſtice are none of the Faculties, neither of the Body, nor Mind. If they were, they might be in a Man that were alone in the World, as well as his Senſes, and Paſſions. They are Qualities, that relate to Men in Society, not in Solitude. It is conſequent alſo to the ſame condition, that there be no propriety, no dominion, no Mine and Thine diſtinct; but only, that to be every Man's that he can get; and for ſo long as he can keep it.

And this is the ill condition, which Man by meer nature is actually placed in; though with a poſſibility to come out of it: conſiſting partly in the Paſſions, partly in his Reaſon. The

The Paſſions that encline men to peace, are, fear of death; deſire of ſuch things as are neceſſary to commodious living; & a hope by their induſtry to obtain them. And Reaſon ſuggeſteth convenient Articles of Peace, upon which Men may be drawn to agreement. Theſe Articles, are they, which otherwiſe are called the Laws of Nature.

Stud. It is a very abſurd and unſecure courſe to lay the ground-work of all civil Polity and formed Religion, upon ſuch a ſuppoſed ſtate of Nature, as hath no firmer ſupport than the contrivance of your own fancy. Let *Ptolemy* endeavour a Solution of thoſe appearances which ariſe from the heavenly Bodies, by one ſort of Scheme; and *Tycho* by another, and *Copernicus* by a third; and let *Des-Cartes* attempt a fourth; for the declaring, not only in what manner, but by what Efficient Cauſe, the Starrs may move; for thus far the intereſts of Men remain ſecure, not being minded by ſuch remote Models and Hypotheſes. But when the Temporal and Eternal ſafety of Mankind is concerned (as in the Doctrines of Civil and Moral, and Chriſtian Philoſophy) then are Hypotheſes, framed by imagination, and not by reaſon aſſiſted with Memory touching the paſſed ſtate of the World, as exceedingly dangerous as they are abſurd. Wherefore, ſuch perſons who trouble the World with fancied Schemes and Models of Polity, in Oceana's and Leviathan's, ought to have in their Minds an uſual ſaying of the moſt excellent Lord *Bacon* concerning a Philoſophy advanced upon the Hiſtory of Nature. That (a) ſuch a work is the World as

a *Dr. Rs. Pref. to Sir F. B. nat. Hiſt.*

God made it, and not as Men have made it: for that it hath nothing of Imagination.

The faithful Records of time give us another account of the Origin of Nations; and common Sense, whereby one apprehends in another's birth, the manner of his own, doth sufficiently instruct us in this truth, that we are born, and grow up under Government; Our Parents being (a) before the Institution of Commonwealth, absolute Soveraigns in their own Families: And as *Hierocles* speaketh, (b) Gods upon Earth. Wherefore *Cicero*, discourfing of the many Degrees of the Society of Men, calleth (c) Wedlock the beginning of a City; and, as it were, the Seminary of a Kingdom. So that, to talk of such a state of nature as supposeth an Independency of one person upon another, is to lay aside not only the History of *Moses*, but also of Experience, which teacheth that we are born Infants, (of Parents, for that reason, to be obey'd), and to put some such cheat upon the World, as Nurses are wont, in sport, to put upon unwary Children, when they tell them, they started up out of the Parsley-bed. And verily some such odd conceit is to be suspected in that Man who says, that all is Matter, and by consequence, that Mankind arose, at first, out of the fortuitous Concretions of it. *Epicurus* therefore in sequel of that doctrine of his, that all things were produced by atoms, explained the birth of Man, by supposing certain swelling bags or wombs upon the earth, which brake at last, and let forth Infants (d) nourished by her Juice, clothed by her Vapours, provided of a bed in the soft grass:

a *Leviath. c.* 22. *p.* 121

b Θεοὶ ἐπίγειοι.

c *Cicero de Offic. l.* 1. *S.* 17. *op. p.* 1217. *Principium urbis & quasi Seminarium Reipublicæ.*

d *Lucret. Crescebant uteri terræ radicibus apti, &c.*

and

and he alſo taught that in the beginning (though he knew not when) Men wander'd about like Beaſts, and every one was for himſelf, and that meerly to ſecure themſelves, they combin'd into Societies, and that thoſe Societies were formed by Pacts and Covenants, and that from thoſe Covenants ſprang good and evil, juſt and unjuſt. For, ſuch a Romance is to be read, at large, in his Compurgator, *Gaſſendus*, (*a*) who ſubjoyneth no Eſſay of confutation.

Mr. *Hobbes*. It may (*b*) peradventure be thought, there was never ſuch a time, nor condition of War, as this now deſcribed; and I believe it was never generally ſo, over all the World: But there are many places where they live ſo now. For, the Savage People in many places of *America*, except the Government of ſmall Families, the concord whereof dependeth on Natural Luſt, have no Government at all, and live at this day in a brutiſh manner.

Stud I am ſorry that ſo much barbarouſneſs being charged upon Mankind, ſo little of the imputation can be fairly taken off Yet that the condition of human nature is not ſo very rude as you ſeem to repreſent it, appeareth from many paſſages in undoubted Story. *Juſtin* (*c*), in his Epitom of *Trogus Pompeius*, deſcribeth the ancient *Scythians* in ſuch a manner, that their Behaviour ſeemeth to upbraid thoſe People, who call themſelves, The Civilized parts of the World. By him we are informed, 'That 'they had neither Houſes, nor Encloſures of 'ground, but wander'd with their Cattel in 'ſolitary and untilled Deſarts; That Juſtice had

a *Gaſſend. Phil. Epic. Synt. c. 26. de Orig. Juris, p.* 238, 239.

b *Leviath. c.* 13. *p.* 63.

c *Juſt. Hiſt. l.* 2. *p.* 18, 19.

'honour derived, to it, not from positive Law, 'but from the good natures of the People. 'That no man was more odious, amongst them 'than the Invader of such things as were oc-'cupied by another. In consideration of which inbred civility, the Historian wisheth that the other Nations of the World were followers of the *Scythick* Moderation; after which, he thus concludeth. 'It may seem a matter fit 'to be admired, that Nature should bestow 'that upon the *Scythians*, which the *Grecians* 'themselves, though long instructed by the 'Doctrines and Precepts of Law-givers and 'Philosophers, have not attain'd to: and that 'formed manners should be excelled by une-'ducated Barbarity.

But, let it be supposed that many brutish Families in *America* (in whose stead you might have rather mentioned the wild *Arabes* (*a*), are so many dens of Robbers, and live by such prey as their power and wildness can provide for them. Yet by this Instance, because it is made in Families, where Government has place, you rather overthrow than prove your supposed state of Nature. Wherefore, in a note added, upon second thoughts, to your Book *de Cive* (*b*), in order to a Solution of this Argument [that the Son killing his Parent, in the state of Nature, acteth unjustly] you subjoin an Answer to this effect A man cannot be understood to be a son in the meer state of Nature, seeing as soon as he is born he is under the lawful (*c*) Power and Government of them, to whom he oweth his conservation; to wit, of his Mother or Father, or to him who affords him Provisions of common life. It

a See *Martyr. Legat. Babylon. l. 3. p. 81.*

b *De Cive. c. 1. p. 14.*

c *Ibid. Potestas, not potentia.*

It is further to be marked, that one Family, as it ſtands ſeparated from another, is as one Kingdom divided from the Territories of a Neighbouring Monarch. If therefore the ſtate of Nature remaineth in a Family not depending upon another Family, in places where there is no common Government; then all Kingdoms which have not made Leagues with one another, are, at this day, in the ſame ſtate. Whereas they rather are in a ſtate of defence dictated by prudence; and, as you ſay, in the poſture (*a*) of Gladiators, having their ſwords pointing, and their Eyes fixed on one another, than in a ſtate of War, prompted by pride and inſatiable ambition. And therefore no affront being offered to a foreign Prince before his Invaſion, he is eſteem'd both injurious and unjuſt, whilſt for no other reaſon than his greedy Will, he thruſts inoffenſive people out of ancient poſſeſſion. I know you eſteem all diſtinct Kingdoms in a ſtate of War in relation to each other (*b*), and that therefore they have a right, if they have a Power of invading: but he that conſults *Gratius*, in his Book *de jure belli & Pacis* (deſigned chiefly (*c*) to ſet forth the Rights, not of Domeſtick, but Forinſick VVar) will not be much of your opinion; neither will he, eaſily, be reconcil'd to the Practice of the *Romans*, in *Petronius Arbiter*, (*d*) (a Practice to which that of the *Spaniards* is akin), who made foreign Nations to be Enemies, as Princes ſometimes make their Subjects, Traytors; for the ſake of their Riches.

(*a*) *Leviath.* p. 63.

(*b*) See *Levi.* p. 110.

(*c*) *Vide Grotij Prolegom.*

(*d*) *Si qua foret tellus quæ fulvum mitteret aurum beſtia erat.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* I confeſs (*e*) that a great Family, if it be not part of ſome Commonwealth,

(*e*) *Lev. c.* 20 p. 105.

is of it ſelf, as to the Rights of Soveraignty, a little Monarchy: whether that Family conſiſt of a Man and his Children; or of a Man and his Servants; or of a Man and his Children, and Servants together, wherein the Father or Maſter is the Soveraign. But yet a Family is not properly a Commonwealth; unleſs it be of that power by its own number, or by other opportunities, as not to be ſubdued without the hazard of War.

Stud. In thoſe Places, where there is no common Government (as of late amongſt the Weſt-*Arabes*, 'till their acceptance of *Muley Arſheid*, firſt for their General, and then their King) a Family may be called a ſmall Kingdom, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of its Power; becauſe it can, as well, ſecure it ſelf, againſt the aſſaults of another Family, as one Kingdom can withſtand the Oppoſition of another. For, we compare Family to Family, and not to a vaſt Empire, againſt whoſe mighty numbers, it is in vain to make reſiſtance: For, if want of ſtrength doth render a Family no Commonwealth, than by the ſame reaſon, the Republicks of *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Lacedæmon*, and the reſt, were properly no Republicks, becauſe they were but ſo many weak and little Members, compar'd to the vaſt Body of the *Græcian* Empire.

But, further: Were every man ſuppoſed looſe, even from the yoke of Paternal Government, yet in ſuch a ſtate, there would be place, for the Natural Laws of good and evil.

For, firſt, There is in Mankind, an ability of Soul to aſcend unto the knowledg of the firſt inviſible Cauſe (*a*) by the effects of his Power,

a *De Civ. c.* 14. *pag.* 250.

and

and Wisdom, and Goodness, which are conspicuous in all the parts of his Creation. I say, an ability to know, not an actual acknowledgment, of the Being of a God. For the *Acrotheitæ* are said, by *Theophrastus* (*a*), to have been a Nation of Atheists; as also to have been swallow'd up by the gaping Earth; undergoing a Judgment worthy that God whom their Imaginations banish'd out of the World. If, then, there be such ability in the Mind of Man, he is capable of sinning by himself, in the secretest retirement from the Societies and Laws of his Fellow-creatures; either by the supineness of his mind in being secure in Atheism, for want of exerting those Powers, by exercise, which God hath implanted in him; or, by the ingratitude of his mind, by want of Love and Thankfulness to God, whom in speculation he confesseth to exist; the notion of a Deity including that of a Benefactor.

(a) *Ap. Simplic. Com. in Epictet. Ench. pag.* 200. *Ed. Cant.*

Mr. *H.* I must acknowledg (*b*), that it is not impossible, in the state of Nature, to sin against God.

(b) *De Cive, c.* 1. *p.* 13.

Stud. A man may also, in that state, sin, by being injurious to himself.

in Annot.

Mr *Hobb.* Neither is that denied, because (*c*) he may pretend that to be for his preservation, which neither is so, nor is so judged by himself.

(c) *De Cive, p.* 14.

Stud. But he may, likewise, sin, with reference to himself in matters wherein no prejudice accrueth to his health, or outward safety. The Instance may be made in Buggery with a Beast, which seemeth to be a sin against the order of God in Nature. This monstrous Indecency, this detestable and abhominable Vice (as the Statute calls it) is, by our Law (*d*), made Felony without Clergy; and this, surely, in regard it is rather a sin against Nature than Commonwealth; it being less noxious to Society,

(d) *25 Hen. 8. c. 6. 5. Eliz. c. 17.*

to

to humble, than to kill the owners beast, the latter of which is but a trespass.

Lastly, In relation to others, I cannot but judg, that one man espying another, and not discerning in him any tokens of mischief, but rather of submission; if being thus secure & unassaulted, he rusheth upon him, & so, to display his power, and please his tyrannous mind, bereaveth him of life; he is a murderer, in the account of God & Man. The reason seemeth unstrained & cogent. For there is no such neer propriety to a man in any possession as in that of life; which a man, as to this state, can no more forego, then he can part with himself: neither can the Right be more confirmed to him than his own Personality. Wherefore, in no condition of Mankind, can it be forfeited but by his own default or consent. But in meer self defence there's no murther, because one life being apparently in hazard, it is reason that the assaulted man should esteem his own more dearly than his Enemy's. It is easie to understand on which side to act, when it is come to this pass that (as the *Italians* say of War (*a*), We must either be spectators of other mens deaths, or spectacles of our own.

Moreover, it appeareth, unto me, not altogether improbable, that in this feigned state of nature, unjust robbery may have place. For, in this community there being sufficient portions, both for the necessity & convenience, of all men; if one shall intrude into the possession of another who is contented with a modest share, being moved only by ambition & wantonness of mind; he seemeth to be no other than an unrighteous aggressor. For all men being, by you, supposed of equal right, the advantage of preoccupancy on the one side, do's turn the scale, if natural justice holds the ballance: For it is in Law, an

(*a*) *Ci bisogna essere spettatori dell' altrui morte, o spettacolo della nostra.*

an old maxim, *In pari jure, melior est conditio Possidentis.* Wherefore, if any person endeavours, by such unnatural practises, as I have mention'd, to encrease his outward safety, or brutish delight, he, in truth, destroyeth by his iniquity more of himself than he can preserve by his ambition and lust. And he may be resembled to a rash Seaman, who out of presumed pleasure in swimming, throws himself headlong into a boisterous Sea; temporal delight and preservation by sin, being the ready way to bottomless ruin.

By what hath been said, I am induced to believe, that there is not only iniquity, but injustice too, in a meer state of Nature; although neither of them be capable of such aggravations, or are extended to so many Instances, as in that state, where men live under Positive Commands. For, to make Instance, not in the lower restraints of fishing, fowling, hunting; but in the more considerable case of promiscuous mixtures; such practice seemeth not so much condemned by the Law of Nature, as by Custom, & the commands of *Moses*, & Christ, & Christian Magistrates, and heathen Powers. For the most holy God would never have begun the World by one Man and Woman, whose Posterity must needs be propagated by the mixtures of their Sons & Daughters, if what we call *Incest*, had been inconsistent with any immutable Law of Reason & Nature. Neither would he have allowed the Patriarchs in Polygamy, if it had been in truth an absolute evil; and not rather, in some Circumstances of time and place, and persons, fit and convenient. Neither is there, in these matters, any consent of Nations, who have no other instructor besides Nature: for, the *Garamantici* married not; but engendred as the Monsters at the Springs of *Africa*. And *Seleucus* gave his own Wife to his son *Antiochus*, & then passed it into a Law. And *Socrates* the great pretender to Moral Prudence, esteemed

med it a civility to his Friend to permit his wife to enter into his imbraces. Wherefore St. *Paul* affirming that the taking of the Father's wife, was a Fornication not once named amongst the Gentiles, is to be understood of those Heathens whose manners & conversations he had observed in his Travels. And *Ælian's* Reading or Memory was but narrow, when (a) in contemplation of the victorious *Sicyonians* deflouring the *Pellenæan* Virgins, he cried out, These Practices, by the gods of *Græcia*, are very cruel, and, as far as I remember, not approved of by the veriest Barbarians.

a *Æl. l. 6. var. Hist. ap. Grot. de Jur. bel. & pa. p. 464.*

And, as I think, it must be granted to you, that such consent of Nations, as may seem to argue a common principle, whence it is derived, is not easily, & in many cases, found by those who look beyond the usages of *Europe*, & the Colonies planted by the *Europeans*. For Pagans (unless it be in the acknowledgment of God, in which most agree) do infinitly differ, not only from Jews & Christians, but from one another, & from their very selves also in process of time. And those who liv'd but an hundred years ago, before the strange improvement of Navigation and Merchandize, could understand but little of the manners of distant Nations; the Traffick being then in a few Port-Towns which held little Commerce with the Inland-inhabitants at any remoteness. Yet is there not hence to be taken such licentious advantage, as if there were no Law of Nature. For how various soever the opinions and customs of several Nations are; in this, they all agree, that good is to be done, and evil to be shunned: which were a vain determination, if it never descended from a general sense, to particularness of direction, which is the immediate rule of manners: for it is this or that good which is to be done, and good in general is an unpracticable notion. Again, there may be eternal Laws of good and evil, though all consent not in them; because

cause the understanding and manners of men, are depraved and debauch'd by custom, and the several arts of our common Enemy; insomuch that divers appear to be men rather in shape and speech, than by severe Reason the law & rule of Life. And here, let it be noted also, that such virtues as a man out of society cannot practise, as, some sorts of justice, gratitude, modesty, and mercy, are laws eternal in the reason of them, because it can never come to pass that, with advantage to society, they may be banish'd out of a Commonwealth. And indeed all the Laws of nature, which relate to certain states, though alterable in the alteration of Circumstances, yet, in the reasons of them, they are everlasting: And Reason that bids a man obey his Father, bids him in some cases, obey not Man but God: and yet the reason is unchangable on which both depend; to wit, of allegiance to the higher Authority.

Mr. *Hobbes.* If, now, it were agree'd upon, amongst men, what right Reason is, the controversie would be immediately ended. Reason (*a*) it self is always right reason——But no one mans reason, nor the reason of any one number of men, makes the certainty: But the Reason of some Arbitrator, or Judg, to whose sentence men will stand: When men that think themselvs wiser than all others, clamor & demand right Reason for Judg; they seek no more, but that things should be determin'd, by no other mens reason, but their own: and this is as intolerable in the society of men, as it is in play after trump is turned, to use for trump on every occasion, that suit whereof they have most in their hand. For they do nothing else, that will have every of their passions, as it comes to bear sway in them, to be taken for right reason, and that in their own controversies: bewraying their want of right reason by the claim they lay to it (*b*).

a *Leviath.* p. 18, 19.

b *See Lev.*

Stud. I cannot but say that prejudice & self-interest doth p. 79, 80.

doth blind the understanding, and cause it to put evil for good; & humor, & education, & profit, for reason, and that an unconcerned Judg decideth a difference, to the commodity not only of peace, but of truth and right. But seeing it is supposed that an Arbitrator can pronounce such a righteous sentence; it followeth that he hath some standing Rule whereby to guide his judgment. This is not always the behoof of society, but it may be known, and it may oblige a man considered by himself, and it concerneth the Hermite, and the shipwrackt person, who is unfortunately cast upon an uninhabited Island.

Now this dictate of right Reason, which, together with the superadded act of Conscience, is the Law of Nature, consisteth in that moral congruity or proportion which is betwixt the action (of mind, or tongue, or hand), and the object, considered relatively in their proper circumstances. That our minds can compare the act & object, or discern whether they are congrous or incongruous, equal or unequal, is plain enough by the daily operations of our Faculties; the truth of which none but a professed Sceptick, calleth in question; being mov'd thereto, rather by capricious humor, than strength of his argument, the reason of which is destroy'd by his very Hypothesis, that, Nothing is certain. And he that calleth our Faculties into question, doth raze the foundations of the Mathematicks as well as of moral doctrine, and leaves no more place for the foot of *Archimedes*, than of *Socrates*. For it is as manifest by the comparative operations of our minds, that hatred (for instance) and disrespect, towards that Being on which we depend for what we are and have is an ununiform, incongruous, unequal, & disproportion'd carriage, as that a crooked line is unequal to a straight one laying between the same terms.

The like may be said of killing an innocent man whom

whom we know to have bin such, and whose continuance in integrity we suspect not; and of the abusing a benefactor. And he that justifieth such returns, may with equal truth & reason, maintain, that the shortest Garment of *David* is well proportion'd to the properest stature of *Saul* or *Goliah*. Now to this perception of moral congruity betwixt the action and the object, considered in their proper circumstances in relation to mens manners, is added an act of conscience in all those who attend to the Laws of their Nature, as rules imprinted in them by the Governour of the World, who made them what they are; & consequently as the rules of his will in such manner declared to them: and from thence what is reasonable passeth into a *Law*. And as the mind of man perceiveth this proportion, or conformity, greater or less, he knoweth in some sort the measure of his obligation. And when he perceiveth the incongruity to be very little, he concludeth it to be a counsel, rather than a law; yet will he be moved by that which *Ovid* calleth, *Aecor Recti*, if he be endued with a generous nature.

From hence it is manifest, that some primary rules of good and evil, carry a reason with them so immutable, in the eternal connexion of their terms, that with indefinity enough we may rile concerning them, that boast of *Ovid*, touching his own works; affirming, that neither the rage of *Jupiter*, nor the most devouring fire, or War, nor what consumeth more than they both, even Time it self, can abolish and destroy them. And this was the meaning of those in *Aristotle* (a), who believed that what was natural was immoveable, and of the same force in all places, as fire burneth here & also in *Persia*. And this they mean, who affirm, that God cannot lie, or deny, or hate himself, or approve of him that hateth him, or adoreth him contrary to his declared

(a) *Aristot. de mor. l. 5 c. 10. p. 84*

red

red will; and that he cannot torture a man, supposed innocent, with never-ceasing misery.

Mr. Hobbes. There is no rule which God may not most
b *Liber. & Nec.* p.24. justly break, because he is Almighty. This I know (b)
c *Ib.* p. 22. God cannot sin, because his doing a thing makes it just, and consequently no sin. Power (c) irresistible justifieth all actions really and properly, in whomsoever, as he found less power does not: and because such Power is in God only, he must needs be just in all his actions, and we who, not comprehending his Counsels, call him to the Bar, commit injustice in it. And I know that
d *Ib.* p. 42. (d) God may afflict by a right derived from his Omnipotence, though sin were not.

Stud. Far be it from me to say, that God can be suppos'd to sin, because there is no Lord superior to him: but, That he would break the rule of eternal Reason, if he should let his power loose, and do whatsoever might be done, whether with agreement or contradiction to his most excellent Nature; thousands have thought it, neither can they perswade themselves into another belief. It is true that God might, temporally, have afflicted or annihilated man if he had lived in a state of uprightness and integrity. For, there is strict justice observed in this case, whilst God freely taketh away what he freely gave, or sendeth a calamity to which life is prefer'd by the reasonable choice of man. But to afflict a man extreamly and eternally without the intervention of any sin, is to send a torment which doth infinitely outweigh the good of naked existence, and
e *Curcell. de Jure Dei in Creat. innocent.* p. 5. &c. therefore is, by *Curcellæus* (e) and divers others of that School, esteem'd inconsistent with that Justice which is inseparable from the first Cause. It being absurd to think that such Justice is not a perfection; and as absurd to imagin that there should be such a perfection in a created Soul, and not in the self-originated Mind. Therefore *Chrysippus*, and the Stoicks did make God
f *Ap. Grot. de Ju. bel. in Prolog.* the Original of Right. And some (f) have derived *Jus* from *Jupiter*. And *Abraham*, the Friend of God, made this expostulation, for which he had no rebuke; *Wilt thou destroy the Righteous with the Wicked?* And again, this also, *Shall not the Judg of all the Earth do Right?* An Agent, armed with Power irresistible, though

though he cannot be withſtood in that action of his which might produceth, yet may he be juſtly condemned for unreaſonable proceedings. A man who being bound hand and foot, has a fatal knife put to his throat (in which caſe the Power is irreſiſtible in reſpect of his body, as much as if it were omnipotence) ſuch a one cannot help himſelf; but he may judge without either falſhood or partiality, that if in that manner he is butchered, without regard to any crime, the practice is both cowardly and unmerciful. But further, if the Deity juſtifieth all by power, and can do rightly whatſoever may be done by Omnipotence (and for that reaſon;) then all the Arguments of the Chriſtian Apologiſts againſt the Gentiles (the barbarous and laſcivious practices of whoſe ſuppoſed Gods they judged enough to overthrow their Divinity, and therefore repreſented at large their immoralities) were weak and unconvincing: for there was room of replying, that ſuch manners were not to be reprov'd, becauſe the powers above them could ſo behave themſelves without controul. To conclude, whilſt by the abſolute Soveraignty of God, you affront his other Attributes, you ſet up an omnipotent Devil in a worſe ſenſe then *Manes* the Perſian, who, being ſeduced by the Fable of his Country, concerning *Orimaza* and *Arcimanius*, aſſerted a ſupreme evil; but did not, directly, exclude the ſupreme good out of the world. See, then, how you reproach the Author of all good, by ſuch an imputation of arbitrary Government, and of imperious will which ſtandeth

for a Reaſon; whereby you take away the moſt ingenious motive to Religion, Love and Reverence, produced by a conception of God as one who (*a*) hath the power to do unto us both good and hurt, but not the will to do us hurt. Remember, alſo, that the Atheiſts, in the Book of Wiſdom (*b*), who taught after this manner, That the ſoul was a little ſpark in the moving of the heart, ſaid likewiſe, Let us oppreſs the poor righteous man, let us not ſpare the widow, nor reverence the ancient gray hairs of the aged. *Let our ſtrength be the Law of Juſtice*; for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth. Thus want of reaſon is betray'd by thoſe bold Writers, who ſlacken the laws of good and evil.

a See Hom. Nat. p. 89.

b Wiſd. 2. 2-3 10.11

Mr. *Hobbes*. Notwithſtanding all this clamour, you may finde in my own Books, divers laws of Nature (*c*) (no fewer then nineteen [*d*]) ſet down, and dignified with the Epithet of eternal (*e*).

c See de Cive. c. 2-3. p. 18, 36. and Lev. c. 14, 15. p. 64, &c.

Stud. You have, indeed, mention'd certain natural Laws; but you have not derived them from the reaſon and equity of their Nature, but from ſelf-preſervation; and call'd them eternal, not from the unalterable connexion of the terms, but becauſe they always conduce (in your opinion) to the temporal peace and ſafety of ſingle perſons: which if it may, at any time be advanced by the violation of ſuch Laws (as is manifeſt in every Uſurpers breach of Faith and Love) they can not oblige in that inſtance, becauſe

d Lev. p. 78

e Lev. p. 79

becauſe the Reaſon of them (ſuch a Reaſon as you have imagined) is then taken away.

And doubleſs upon this account, the Fundamentals of your *Policy* are Hay and Stubble, and apter to ſet all things into a blaze, then to ſupport Government, and (what we are in the eighth Place to diſcuſs) the *Laws of Society*. For, if men be lawleſs in a ſtate of Nature, and for the meer ſake of temporal ſecurity, do enter into Covenants, and are obliged to Juſtice, and Modeſty, and Gratitude, and other ſuchlike ſociable Vertues, onely becauſe they conduce to our peace, and to the keeping of us from the deplorable condition of a War of every man againſt every man; then when any ſubject ſhall have fair hopes of advancing himſelf by treading down Authority, and trampling upon the Laws in a proſperous Rebellion; what is it, according to your Principles, which can oblige him to refuſe the opportunity? If it be ſaid that one Covenant is this, that we muſt keep the reſt; it will be again inquired, what Law engageth men to keep that Pact, ſeeing there is no Law of more ancient deſcent, unleſs it be that of ſelf-preſervation? for the ſake of which (as it includeth not meer ſafety, but delight alſo, as you have ſtated it (*a*) and diſplay of Power) we ſuppoſe the Covenants to be broken. So that, without the obligation laid upon us by Fedility (the Law of God Almighty in our nature) antecedent to all humane Covenants; ſuch Pacts will become but ſo many looſe materials, without the main binder, in the ſence of the Common-wealth, which

(*a*) Lev. 26. 61.

will, therefore, be trodden down, or broken through, by every herd of unruly men. Men are apt to violate what they eſteem moſt juſt and ſacred, for the ſake of Reigning; and they will be, much more, encouraged to break all Oaths of Duty and Allegiance, when they once believe, that their aſcent into the Throne, and Poſſeſſion of the Supreme Power, like the coming of the reputed Heir unto the Crown, as in the caſe of *Henry* the Seventh (*b*), doth immediately clear a man of all former Attaindors.

a *Lord Bacon in H. 7. p. 13.*

b Lev. p. 73 Mr. *Hobbes.* This ſpecious (*b*) Reaſoning is, nevertheleſs, falſe: For when a man doth a thing, which, notwithſtanding any thing can be foreſeen, and reckoned on, tendeth to his own deſtruction, howſoever ſome accident, which he could not expect, arriving, may turn it to his benefit; yet ſuch events do not make it reaſonably or wiſely done —— As for the inſtance of attaining Soveraignty by Rebellion; it is manifeſt, that though the event follow, yet becauſe it cannot reaſonably be expected, but rather the contrary; and becauſe by gaining it ſo, others are taught to gain the ſame in like manner, the attempt thereof is againſt Reaſon. Juſtice therefore, that is to ſay, keeping of Covenant, is a rule of Reaſon, by which we are forbidden to do any thing deſtructive to our life; and conſequently a law of Nature.

Stud. This then is the Doctrine of *Politics*, in which you ſo much applaud your ſelf; and

and of the ſame ſtrain with the pernicious Book, entituled, *Natures Dowry* (*a*), printed the year after the *Leviathan*: That Rebellion is not iniquity, if, upon probable grounds, it becomes proſperous: That he who uſurps not like a Politician, is therefore a Villain, becauſe he is a Fool: That all the Uſurpers in the World ſtepping up into the Throne, by means likely to further their aſcent, purſue the Fundamental Law of Nature, and are rightful and undoubted Soveraigns: That the Earl of *Eſſex*, in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth* (who, after ſome ſtain of fame in *Ireland*, and in the days of a popular Queen, and in a time when he had potent enemies for ſtrength and head-piece, ſuch as *Cecil* and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, appear'd with a ſmall company, upon preſumption of the Queens love in caſe he ſhould miſcarry, and upon hopes of the multitude not formed to his purpoſe by confederacie) was a Rebel and a Traytor, becauſe he was a weak and unfortunate Politician; but that *Oliver* (who was led on by ſucceſs to things he never dreamt of in the days of his Poverty,) and ſaw the power of the King declining; and was as ſure of being Protector, as a King can be (upon your grounds) of remaining Soveraign, by the inclination of the Souldiery, and poſſeſſion of the *Militia*; and therefore uſurp'd upon as ſure foundations of ſelf-intereſt, as the nature of Civil Affairs admitteth of) was, by the direct conſequence of your opinion, a lawful Prince, a man of ineſtimable merit and renown, worthy the Government of thrice three Kingdoms, of dying in his bed,

(*a*) 1652. *P.* 31. *cited by the Learned A. of the F. D. in Append. p.* 123. *Thoſe Chriſtians who lived under the Heathenish Emperours, but wanted ſtrength to defend themſelves, were by that Precept* (Rom. 13. 1.) *obliged to ſit ſtill, and to endeavour nothing againſt thoſe that had the ſword in their hands, &c.*

and of a Fame too wide to be contain'd betwixt the Deucalidonian and Brittiſh Ocean. No, no, there are words more agreeable to his merit, and they have nothing Poetick in them beſides the genuine ſtrain of verſe (*a*).

a Mr. Cowley in his Diſc. of O. C. p. 59.

Curſt be the man (what do I wiſh? as though
The wretch already were not ſo;
But curſt on let him be) who thinks it brave
And great, his Country to enſlave;
Who ſeeks to overpoiſe alone
The Balance of a Nation,
Againſt the whole but naked State;
Who in his own light ſcale makes up with Arms
the weight.

Mr. *Hobbes.* I have written concerning *Oliver* (*b*), that his Titles and actions were equally unjuſt.

b M. Conſid. p. 12.

Stud. This you wrote indeed, but ſince the return of his Sacred Majeſty, who, if men had purſu'd your deſtructive Principles, and judg'd his Right to have ceaſed with his Power, had for ever been deſtitute of any other Throne, then what had been erected in the hearts of the *Loyal.* Mr. *White*, alſo, the part-boyl'd Romaniſt, who is honour'd with the Title of, *Moſt Learned*, in the ſcurrilous Preface to your Book of Fate, declar'd in Engliſh, in an unhappy time, (*c*) that a diſpoſſeſſed Prince ought neither to be deſired, nor to endeavour to return, if the people think themſelves to be well, and their Trade and Employment be undiſturb'd.

c Th. White of Obed. and Govern. 17. ground p. 144. &c. to 156. ſecond Edit. publiſhed London 1655.

And

And he addeth alſo; Who can anſwer they ſhall be better by the return of the diſpoſſeſſed party? Surely, in common preſumption, the gainer is like to defend them better then he who loſt it. Certainly for this ſentence, at ſuch a time publiſhed to this Nation, if for no other cauſe, his Books ought to be burnt in *England*, as well as ſome of them have been condemned at *Rome*; unleſs we ſuppoſe the crabbedneſs of the ſtile, and the obſcureneſs and weakneſs of the Reaſoning in them, may tempt the Author, when better informed, to ſave Authority the labour of it. Dr. *Baily* likewiſe, revolting from the Church of *England*, forſook his Loyalty at the ſame time, and careſſed *Oliver*, and hop'd that, by his means, the Pope might come again, and ſet his Imperial feet upon the neck of Engliſh Princes: For he concludes his Legend (*a*) of the Biſhop of *Rochester*, after this manner.

(*a*) O. B. *life of Biſhop Fiſher, publiſhed the ſame year with Mr. Whites Book* Londor, *p.* 260, *&c.*

Thus we ſee Gods Juſtice in the deſtruction of the Churches Enemies; (meaning *Thomas Cromwel*, Vicar-General of the Church under *Henry* the eighth, and ſpoiler of Religious Houſes): who knows but that he may help her to ſuch Friends, though not ſuch as may reſtore her own Jewels, yet ſuch as may heal her of her wounds? And who knows but that it may be effected by the ſame name? *Oliva vera* is not ſo hard to be conſtrued *Oliverus*, as that it may not be believed, that a Prophet rather then an Herald, gave the common Father of Chriſtendom, the now Pope of *Rome*, *Innocent* the Tenth) ſuch Enſignes of his Nobility

(*viz.* a Dove holding an Olive-branch in her mouth) since it falls short in nothing of being both a Prophecy and fulfilled, but only his Highness running into her arms, whose Embleme of Innocence bears him alreadie in her mouth. These Romanists and your self agree too well in owning of Usurpers, and measuring right by the length of the sword: and therefore when such Politicians say, that *Olivers* Titles and Actions were equally unjust, they are to be understood in such a sense, as when we say of a very Dunce, that he is as good a Logician as Grammarian, that is, in truth neither.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Believe me Sir, my Leviathan was written when *Oliver* was but General (*b*) who had not yet cheated the Parliament of their usurped power: [and I never had a kindness for him or them. I lived peaceably under his Government, at my return from *France*, and so did the Kings Bishops also.] Of the Bishops that then were (*c*) —— there was not one that followed the King out of the Land, though they loved him, but lived quietly under the protection, first of the Parliament, and then of *Oliver* (whose Titles and Actions were equally unjust) without treachery.

b H. *Conf.* p. 18-19.

c H. *Confid.* p. 11-12.

Stud. That this is false, your own Conscience will inform you; for the then Lord Bishop of *London-derry* (a man of whom, to your cost, you have heard) convey'd himself beyond the Seas, and was not there unmindful of the

the Kings intereſt; although he hath not boaſted of his Travels, as you are wont to do of your living at *Paris*. Let the teſtimony of Biſhop *Taylor*, who was as likely as any man to know and report the truth, decide the controverſie: his words are theſe. (*d*) God having ſtill reſolved to afflict us, the good man was forc'd into the fortune of the Patriarchs, to leave his Country and his charges, and ſeek for ſafety and bread in a ſtrange Land.——This worthy man took up his Croſs, and followed his Maſter.—— At his leaving the Low-Countries upon the Kings return, ſome of the remonſtrant-Miniſters coming to take their leaves of this great man, and deſiring that, by his means, the Church of *England* would be kind to them; he had reaſon to grant it, becauſe they were learned men, and in many things, of a moſt excellent belief: yet he reprov'd them, and gave them caution againſt it, that they approached too near, and gave too much countenance to the great and dangerous errors of the *Socinians*. He thus having ſerved God and the King abroad, God was pleaſed to return to the King and to us all.

(*d*) *Bp. T. Funeſ. p.* 49-50.

As for divers others of them, ſome were impriſoned, and others were by reaſon of Age, not ſo apt for forraign travel: and at home, they promoted the cauſe of their Soveraign, which, if all zealous Loyaliſts had with-drawn themſelves, would, by degrees, have dyed away: and becauſe they refuſed the Oaths impoſed at the peril of their lives, and of their fortunes (which though they were but little, were their all,)

all,)they therefore are not to be judged treacherous in undermining the usurped Government, or disloyal to the King in enjoying protection under *Oliver*, whom they neither arm'd, nor owned in power: neither do you, here, take notice of the great number of loyal Priests, of which, some fled beyond the Seas, and others, staying in the Land, were, for their the sake of Allegiance, expos'd to as great dangers as the roughest sea could have threatned them with: but it is the manner of some men, to wound true Loyalty and Religion through the sides of Ecclesiastick Officers.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I have not said this to upbraid the Bishops, nor ever (*a*) spake I ill of any of them, as to their persons: and against their Office I never writ any thing. I never wrote (I say) against Episcopacy; and it is my private opinion, that such an Episcopacy as is now in *England* is the most commodious that a Christian King can use for the the governing of Christs Flock: [and if they submitted to *Oliver* they did justly, being then absolved of their obedience to their Soveraign]: for the (*b*) obligation of subjects to the Soveraign, is understood to last as long, and no longer, then the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them. —— The end of obedience is protection; which, wheresoever a man seeth it, either in his own, or in anothers sword, Nature applyeth his obedience to it, and his *endeavors to maintain it.*

a H. Con. p. 43-44.

b Lev. c. 21. p. 114.

Stud. You have here, according as the nature of falſhood requireth, backed one untruth with a ſecond: for, in your Leviathan (*e*), you called Epiſcopacy a Præterpolitical Church Government, and preferred Independencie above all other forms; for, at that time, it was gotten uppermoſt, and ſeem'd the growing Intereſt, and Presbytery decayed: the truth is, the latter declin'd before the death of the King, to whoſe fall, that Partie was loath to give the laſt thruſt: but when your Leviathan came forth, the houſe of Lords had bin voted uſeleſs, and the members that had voted the Kings conceſſions a ground for the Houſe to proceed to a ſettlement, were ſecluded; and the dregs of the Houſe were Anabaptiſts and Independents: ſoon after this (*d*) you, thus libeld, that government which was, then by right, his preſent Majeſties:

e Lev. p. 385.

d *Members ſecluded*, Feb. 1. 1648. *Lords voted down*, Feb. 6. 1648. Lev. pub. Lon. 1651.

The Analyſis, of the Pontifical Power, is by the ſame way, the Syntheſis or conſtruction was; but beginneth with the knot that was laſt tyed (the Popes Supremacy); as we may ſee in the diſſolution of the Præterpolitical Church-Government in England. *Firſt the power of the Popes was diſſolved totally by Queen* Elizabeth; *and the Biſhops, who before, exerciſed their Functions in right of the Pope, did afterwards exerciſe the ſame, in the right of the Queen and her ſucceſſors; though by retaining the Phraſe of* Jure divino, *they were thought to demand it, by immediate right from God: and ſo was untyed the firſt knot. After this, the Presbyterians lately in* England *obtained the putting down of Epiſcopacy: and ſo*

was

was the ſecond knot diſſolved: and almoſt at the ſame time, the power was taken alſo from the Presbyterians; and ſo we are reduced to the Independeneie of the Primitive Chriſtians, to follow Paul, *or* Cephas, *or* Apollos, *every man as he liketh beſt: which, if it be without contention, and without meaſuring the doctrine of Chriſt, by our affection to the perſon of his Miniſter (the fault which the Apoſtle reprehended in the* Corinthians) *is perhaps the beſt.* Wherefore ſpeak no more of your reverence for Epiſcopacy, whilſt you have cryed hail to it, and yet betraid it: neither is it for you to pretend to loyalty, who, when one asked what was the price of a Roman penny; amidſt a Diſcourſe of our civil Warres, (whilſt his thoughts were guided by a train, from, our Warres, to the delivering of the King, from that to the delivering of Chriſt, from that to the thirty pence received by *Judas*, and from that to the value of the Roman penny) call'd this, in Print, (*a*) a *Malicious* queſtion, in the daies of the Parliament: as if it were malice, and not juſt zeal, which occaſioned his comparing of the Martyrdom of King *Charles* to the death of the bleſſed Jeſus. It is not, for you, to pretend to loyalty, who place right in force, and teach the people to aſſiſt the Uſurper, with active compliance, againſt a diſpoſſeſſed Prince; and not meerly to live, at all adventure, in his Territories, without owning the protection by unlawful oaths, or by running into arms againſt their dethroned Soveraign.

(*a*) Lev. p. 9.

Mr. *Hobbes*

Mr. *Hobbes.* I cannot but place the right of (*b*) government there, wereſoever the ſtrength ſhall be; [whatſoever be the ignominious terms with which you revile me.]

b H. Conſt. p. 19.

Stud. I ſay then again, (and I neither revile nor ſlander you, unleſs it can be done by the repetition of the truth) that you give encouragement to Uſurpers; and alſo, when civil diſcords are on foot (as it happens too frequently in all States) you, hereby move ſuch people as are yet on the ſide of their lawful Prince, whoſe affairs they ſee declining, ſtraitway to adjoyn themſelves to the more proſperous partie, and to help to overturn thoſe thrones of Soveraigntie, at which a while before they proſtrated themſelves: for, in your way of reaſoning, they have a right to preſerve or delight themſelves, by any courſe of means, and can be beſt protected by the prevailing ſide, which becauſe it hath more degrees of growing power, ha's it ſeemeth, therefore more of right. The people thus miſs-inſtructed, will imitate thoſe idolatrous Heathens, who, for ſome years, worſhipped a preſumed Goddeſs made faſt unto an Oake: but as ſoon as the Tree began by Age and Tempeſt, to appear decaying, they pay'd no further devotion to their Deity, neither would they come within the ſhaddow of the Oak or Image.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Againſt this abuſe of what I have taught, I have made proviſion, by inſerting this amongſt other Laws of Nature, that

(*a*) every

a Lev. p. 390.

(*a*) every man is bound by nature, as much as in him lies; to protect in War the Authority, by which he is himself protected in time of Peace.

Stud. That Law was forgotten in the body of your Leviathan, and cometh late into the review: the wound is first made, and then you endeavour to skin it over; but neither can it so be closed: for this and all other Laws of Nature obliging no further (as hath been already noted) then they promote the first, the Law of self-interest; it is in the choice of every subject (whom (*b*) you make Judge of the means to preserve himself,) to apply himself to the stronger side; or for a company combin'd in arms and counsel, when an Heir and a Traytor are ingag'd in Battle with equal success (as was the practice of the Lord *Stanley*, and Sir *William Stanley* and their adherents in the Engagement at *Bosworth*-Field) to give the day to the side they presume will most favour them, by over-poising the power of the other side, by their fresh supply. Fear will not keep men from such attempts; especially fear of outward punishment, whilst every one hopes to conquer, and to mend his game (as you well (*c*) know) by a new shuffle; and is (by you) misperswaded, that failing in the enterprize, to his temporal peril, is his only offence against the Law of Nature. There is no tye so strong as that of Religion, which eternally bindeth a conscientious subject in allegiance to his Soveraign: and Wars arise from mens self-interests and lusts: and true goodness is both the Creator and Preserver

b De Civ. l. 1. c. 1 p. 12. Sect. 9.)

c Lev. p. 48.

ver of Peace: unleſs a man obeyeth for conſcience ſake, all the cords of outward Pacts and Covenants will not hold him, when he dreameth that the *Philiſtins* are upon him, and that he can deliver himſelf by force from the power of his Enemies; in which number the Prince himſelf is reckon'd by ambitious ſubjects, out of favour: neither will ſuch Covenants hold the people that pretend unto Religion, if they be miſ-taught that God is glorified in their private good, and that their private good is to be valued before the life of a Prince, if they can ſafely deprive him of it. For it is truely ſaid by a Friend of yours, (*a*) That zeal, like lead, is as ready to drop into bullets, as to mingle with a compoſition fit for medicine. [a] *Memoires of Q. E. p. 53.*

Mr. *Hobbes*. Covenants (*a*) being but words, and breath, have no force to oblige, contain, conſtrain, or protect any man, but what it has from the publick Sword. The Laws of Nature (*b*) (as Juſtice, Equity, Modeſty, Mercy, and (in ſum) doing to others as we would be done to) of themſelves, without the terror of ſome power, to cauſe them to be obſerved, are contrary to our natural paſſions, that carry us to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And Covenants without the Sword, are but words, and of no ſtrength to ſecure a man at all. [b] *Lev. p. 89* *See p. 87.* [c] *Lev. p. 85*

Stud. The matter is much mended by this anſwer; and you who cauſe or permit (for with you they are the ſame) a perſon, of none of the beſt manners, in a Preface to your Book of Deſtiny

ſtiny, to revile the Embaſſadors of our Lord, and to levie againſt them, not the force of argument, but of foaming malice, and to reproach them by ſaying that they are ignorant Tinkers, and Soderers of Conſcience; how do you merit the ſame mock-name, by making wide holes and paſſages for every rebellious ſpirit, inſtead of ſtopping an Objection which charged your Doctrine with diſloyalty? For thus, Society is like a State of Nature, and all is managed ſtill by force, notwithſtanding the formalities of transferring Right by Pacts; and every man is to ſtand no longer to his bargain, when he can break it to his advantage: And thus, the Prince is always in a ſtate of danger, becauſe he cannot be, a day ſecure, of remaining uppermoſt; ſeeing the people are taught by you, to believe that the right of Authority is a deceit, and that every one would have as good a title, if he had as long a ſword: For the many-headed Beaſt will throw the Rider when he burthens and galls them, having no check of inward Law. For the Prince has but the ſtrength of a ſingle man, and the people can't confer irreſiſtible Power, unleſs when they lift up their hands on high, they can give up their nerves, and muſcles, and ſpirits, as well as teſtifie their preſent approbation. Wo to all the Princes upon earth, if this doctrine be true, and becometh popular: if the multitude believe this, the Prince, not armed with the ſcales of the *Leviathan*, that is, with irreſiſtible power, can never be ſafe from the Spears and Barbed irons, which their ambition and preſumed intereſt will provide

vide, and their malice will sharpen, and their passionate violence throw against him. If the Beast, we speak of, come but to know its own strength, it will never be managed: Wherefore such as own these pernicious doctrines, destructive to all Societies of men, may be said to have Wolves heads, as the Laws of old were wont to speak concerning excommunicated Persons; and are like those ravenous beasts, so far from deserving our love and care, that they ought to be destroyed at the common charge. What you have written three times over, in your *de cive*, *de corpore politico*, and *Leviathan*, ought rather to be esteemed seeds of sedition, then Elements of government and societie: the Principles of the Zelots amongst the Papists (who obey a Forrein Power against the King) are not consistent with the government of *England*; yet, like the Elements in *Aristotle*, they are not burthensome in their proper place of *Italy*: but of such large infection is the doctrine, that it will endanger the life of the Commonwealth, wheresoever it is entertained in the consequences of it.

Mr. *Hobbes*. At *Paris* (*a*) I wrote my Book *de cive in Latine* —— and I know no book more magnified then that beyond the Seas. Natural Philosophie (*b*) is but young; but civil Philosophie yet much younger, as being no older (I say it provoked, and that my detractors may know how little they have wrought upon me) then my own book *de Cive*: a short (*c*) sum of that book of mine, now publiquely in French,

a H. Con. p. 7.

b Ep. ded. Bes. de Corpore.

c Six Less. p. 56.

done by a Gentleman I never ſaw, carrieth the title of *Æthics demonſtrated:* accuſe not then ſuch Politics, as are, though new, yet of ſure foundation.

Stud. Your Doctrine is old enough, and I wiſh it had one propertie of Age, to be attended with decay. *Carneades* and divers others bottom'd Policy and ſelf-Intereſt, and you have only wire-drawn that which is delivered by them in a lump: and for this, as is the manner of divers who have an itch of writing, you claw your ſelf. I could repeat to you, divers ſayings of the ancient deceivers in Moralitie; ſuch as are, *Armatus leges ut cogitem? nec natura poteſt juſto ſecernere iniquum,—— utilitas juſti prope mater & æqui*, and the like; but you would then turn all off, by deriding me for having made a motly Oration. I have ſometimes, by my ſelf, made this conjecture, that you being ſo converſant with *Thucydides*; the Oration of *Euphemus* (*d*) delivered there, might firſt hint to you your ſandy Politicks: for that *Athenian* Embaſſadour to the *Camarinæi*, amongſt other things tending much that way, at laſt plainly told them, that to a Governour nothing which was profitable was diſhoneſt, or unreaſonable: which Doctrine, becauſe it invites ambitious men to ſtep into Authority when the door is open, and mercenary ſoldiers to decide a diſpute, not in favour of the right, but the moſt profitable ſide; becauſe it moveth them that are ſupream to become Tyrants in the exerciſe of that power, which Religion ought to limit, though

(*d*) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 467. Ἀνδρὶ δὲ τυράννῳ, ἢ πόλει ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ, οὐδὲν ἄλογον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἢ ξυμφέρον.

though the people may not, and to make their passions their chief rules, and to govern with Armies rather then Laws, or, if with both, to dy their Flags, and to write their Edicts, in the blood of whom they please: because, I say, it taketh off all sence of what we call humanity from the supream powers, and so, not unlike to a *Porta Sabina*, calls in innumerable evils upon such people as are quiet and modest; it therefore ought, no more to be sucked in, by Prince or People, then pernicious air in time of common Pestilence.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Name not Tyranny as a word of reproach, for the name of Tyranny (e) signifieth nothing more nor less, then the name of Soveraignty, be it in one, or many men, saving that they that use the former word, are understood to be angry with them they call Tyrants: and I think the toleration of a professed hatred of Tyranny, is a toleration of hatred to Common-wealth in general —— So that here, (f) I must say to you, Peace, down, for you bark now at the Supream Legislative power; therefore 'tis not I but the Laws which must rate you off. And now me thinks my endeavour (g) to advance the civil power, should not be by the civil power condemned; nor private men, by reprehending it, declare they think that power too great [and after what manner I endeavour the advancement of it, I think it worth the time to declare to you.] I shew (a) that the Scripture requireth absolute obedience: I teach (b) that the people have made artificial chains, called

e *Lev* p. 392. *Review*.

f *Six Lect.* p. 62.

g *Ep. ded. Lev.*

a *Lev.* p. 105.

b *Lev.* p. 108. 109.

called civil laws, which they themſelves, by mutual Covenants, have faſtned at one end, to the lips of that man, or Aſſembly, to whom they have given the Soveraign power; and at the other end, to their own ears: that, (*c*) nothing the Soveraign can do to the Subject, can properly be called Injuſtice or injury, becauſe every ſubject is Author of every Act the Soveraign doth. That (*d*) the proprietie of a ſubject excludeth not the dominion of the Soveraign, but only of another ſubject.

(*c*) *ibid.* & Lev. p. 90. 182.

(*d*) Lev. p. 118. *ſee p.* 169.

Stud. Remember Sir, the caſe of *Ahab* and *Naboth*; unleſs you ſuppoſe it in times of publick neceſſitie.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Interrupt me not: I teach alſo, that (*e*) the King is the abſolute Repreſentative, and that it is dangerous to give ſuch a title to thoſe men, who are ſent up by the people to carry their Petitions, and give him (if he permit it) their advice. That (*f*) the Soveraign is ſole Legiſlator, and not ſubject to civil laws. That (*g*) to him there cannot be any knot in the law, inſoluble; either by finding out the ends to undo it by; or elſe by making what ends he will, (as *Alexander* did with his ſword in the *Gordian*-knot,) by the Legiſlative power; which no other Interpreter can doe. That there is (*h*) no common Rule of good and evil, to be taken from the Nature of the objects themſelves; but from the Perſon of the man (where there is no Common-wealth) or, (in a Common-wealth) from the Perſon that repreſenteth

(*e*) Lev. p. 95.

(*f*) Lev. p. 137. 169.

(*g*) Lev. p. 143. c. 26.

(*h*) Lev. p. 24.

teth it, or from an Arbitrator or Judge, whom men disagreeing shall by consent set up, and make his sentence the rule thereof. That (*i*) where there is no law, there no killing or any thing else can be unjust. That (*k*) the civil Soveraign is Judge of what doctrines are fit to be taught. I also maintain (*l*) that Soveraigns, being in their own Dominions the sole Legislators; those books only are Canonical, that is, Law in every Nation, which are established for such by the Soveraign Authority.

(*i*) Lib. & Nec. p. 29.
(*k*) Lev. p. 91
(*l*) Leviath. p. 119 c 33

Stud. In some things you are just to the Prerogative of Kings; but in others, you ought to have remembred the words of our Lord, who adviseth us to give to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*, and unto God the things that are Gods. For your cavil at the name Tyrant, it is in the sense I us'd it (for exercise of unlimited power) unbecoming a Prince: but I know how very frequently it is misapply'd by those, who will call the very bridling of their licentiousness, hateful Tyranny; and find fault with the law, for no other reason but because it is a restraint upon their supposed freedome: whereas the hedges which the law sets down, are to keep them only in the truest and safest way. The absolute Princes of *Syracuse* were called Tyrants, though some of them deserved the title of Benefactors: and amongst our selves, the best of Kings was branded with that ignominious character. For that which you have justly said in favour of a Monarch, had it bin Printed before Forty eight, it might have bin of

good effect, at least it might have shewed a disposition to promote Loyalty. But being published, after the Kings Martyrdom, and his Sons exile, it served the purposes of those people who had then the *Militia* in their hands. For you say (*a*) that the Rights of a Commonwealth by acquisition, are the same with those, by Institution or Succession: That the power of the Representative (whether in one or many) cannot without consent be transferr'd, forfeited, accus'd, punish'd: and that such a person is Supreme Judge. The Parliament therefore ought to have return'd you thanks, for ascribing to them the strength of the Leviathan, and for keeping their *nostrils* free from the *hooks* of the right Heir and his adherents. They ought, especially, to have given you the thanks of the House for saying, (*b*) *I maintain nothing in any Paradox of Religion; but attend the end of that dispute of the Sword, concerning the Authority, (not yet amongst my Country-men decided) by which all sorts of Doctrine are to be approved, or rejected; and whose commands, both in speech and writing, (whatsoever be the opinions of private men) must by all men, that mean to be protected by their Laws, be obeyed.*

a Lev. p. 102.

b Lev. p. 241.

But notwithstanding all this, what you seem to build up on the side of the Sovereign, you pull down on the side of the People. For whilst you found all upon single Self-interest, (to the advancement of which all safe means are, by you, esteemed (*c*) lawful) these specious rights are no longer his, then by main force he can keep possession of them. That will not be long,

c Lev. p. 90 De Cive, c.

if great Delinquents call'd in queſtion, and miſerable people (who, like ſuch as ſtake their Cloak in an over-hot day, are willing to hazard the life they would be rid of; and are eaſily miſled, not looking upon the ſtumbling-blocks in the way, but (*d*) on the light that others carry before them), if theſe, can promote their private good, by Sword, or Poyſon, or Mutiny. The people, if they believ'd that a company of Delinquents (*e*), joyning together to defend themſelves by Arms, do not at all unjuſtly; but may, lawfully, *repel* lawful *Force, by Force*; they would ſoon be ſtirred up, and ſuffer none, for whom they have reſpect, to be brought to juſtice.

d Lev. p. 159.

e Lev. p. 111, 112, 113 *See* p. 69 *of* Lev. *and* L. S. Natures Dowry *in Append. to* F. D. p. 54

For your laſt particular concerning the Power of the Civil Soveraign, in relation to that for which we have aſſign'd

The Ninth place, that is to ſay, the *Canon* of holy Scripture; it ſeemeth a great indignity offered to the Soveraignty of Chriſt. Upon this occaſion, I remember a ſaying of Dr. *Weſton*, which would better have become a man in Buff, then a Prolocutor of the Convocation. After ſix days ſpent in hot diſpute about Religion, in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, he diſmiſſed thoſe of the Reformed way in theſe words (*a*): *It is not the Queens pleaſure that we ſhould ſpend any longer time in theſe debates; and ye are well enough already: for you have the Word, and we have the Sword.* So little of the obligation of holy Writ is perceived by thoſe whoſe eyes are dazled with Secular Grandeur.

a Dr. Heylins *Hiſt. of the Reform. in Q.* M. p. 30

But, before we come to diſpute of the power

which maketh the Scripture-*Canon*, which is, as 'twere the Main Battle; may we not a little breathe and prepare our selves, in some lesser Skirmishes, touching the Writings of the Old and New Testament?

Mr. *Hobbes*. If you like that course, I am ready to joyn with you. First, then, I take notice (*b*) that divers historical Books of the Old Testament, were not written by those whose names they bear; to wit, much of the *Pentateuch*, the Books of *Joshuah*, and *Judges*, and *Ruth*, and *Samuel*, and *Kings*, and *Chronicles*.

b Lev. p. 200-201. *at large.*

Stud. This hath bin, long since said, and proved, by the places which you cite in your *Leviathan*, by the Frenchman who founded a Systeme of Divinity upon the conceit of men before *Adam*: who also, by Recantation, unravel'd his own Cobweb, spun out of his own fancie, rather then the true Records of time. But this doth not invalidate the truth of those Histories, whose sufficient antiquity is, by you, granted.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I observe, again, concerning the Book of *Job* (*a*), that though it appear sufficiently that he was no feigned person, yet the Book it self seemeth not to be an History, but a Treatise concerning a question in ancient time disputed, why wicked men have often prospered in this world, and good men have been afflicted: and it is the more probable, because the whole dispute is in Verse — but Verse is no usual stile of such as either are themselves

a Lev. p. 202.

ſelves in great pain, as *Job*; or of ſuch as come to comfort them, as his Friends; but in Philoſophy, eſpecially moral Philoſophy, in ancient time frequent.

Stud. It is not thought that *Job* or his Friends, but *Moſes*, or ſome other, pen'd the Hiſtory in the form in which we have it. But however you here alledge a Reaſon, which proveth the contrary to the purpoſe you would have it ſerve for: For Poetry exciting the imagination and affections, is fitteſt for painting out the Scene of Tragedy. You have ſurely forgotten *Ovid de Triſtibus*.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Pleaſe your ſelf in replies: I will proceed to obſerve further, that (*b*) as for the Books of the Old Teſtament, they are derived to us, from no other time then that of *Eſdras*, who, by the direction of Gods Spirit, retrived them, when they were loſt. *b Lev.* pa. 203. *See* Lev. 284.

Stud. That place in the fourth Book of *Eſdras*, wherein it is ſaid in his perſon, Thy Law is burnt (*c*), therefore no man knoweth the things that thou haſt done, is a very fable. For though the Autographa of *Moſes*, and the Prophets have been thought to have periſhed at the burning of *Hieruſalem*, yet it is not true that all the Copies were deſtroyed: For the Prophets, in the Captivity (*d*) read the Law. And concerning that whole fourth Book, it is ſaid by *Bellarmine* himſelf, (*e*) that the Author is a Romancer. Of the like nature may they *c* 4 Eſd. c. 14. 21, &c. *d* Dan. 9. 11, 12, 13. *e De Scrip. Eccleſ.* p. 22.

ſeem

seem who talk of the men of the *Synagoga magna*, making *Ezra* to be a chief man amongst them, and ascribing to them the several divisions and sections of the Old Testament; even that, wherein the Book of *Daniel* is (most absurdly) reckon'd amongst the *Hagiographa*. Of that *Synagoga magna*, there is not one word spoken by *Josephus*, or St. *Hierom*, though both had very fair occasions, in some parts of their writings, to have intreated of it. And the deficiencie of the Jewish story, about that time, may move us to believe that this was the fiction of modern Rabbies; and *Morinus* thinks he has demonstrated that so it was.

(f) Lev. p. 899.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I note again, that the (f) Septuagint, who were seventy Learned men of the Jews, sent for by *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, to translate the Jewish Law, out of the Hebrew into Greek, have left us no other Books for holy Scripture in the Greek Tongue, but the same that are received in the Church of *England*.

Stud. It is not resolved whether they translated any more then the five Books of *Moses*, and whether they turn'd them out of *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, or the *Samaritan* Tongue, to which latter Pentateuch the translation of the seventy is shew'd, by *Hottinger*, to agree most exactly, in a very great number of places, by him produced in order (g): but there is as great question whether that we have, be the true Copy of the Seventy: for seeing therein the

(g) See Hottinger. Thes. Philolog. p. 781, &c.

names

names of places (as Καφτορειμ for *Caphtorim*) are there rendred not according to the *Hebrew*, but after the manner in which they were call'd in the latter times under the second Temple (*b*); the antiquity of the Copy of *Rome* may be suspected.

b See Dr. Lightfoot's Horæ Hebr. in S. Marc. p. 49, 50.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Be it also observed, that those Books which are called *Apocrypha* were left out of the Canon, not for inconformity of Doctrine with the rest, but *onely* because they are not found in the Hebrew.

Stud. Here, again, you erre: for by the same Reason, some part which is contained in the Canon, should have been, of old, excluded. For instance, the Book of *Daniel* is partly written in Hebrew, and partly written in Caldee; for *Daniel* had learnt that Tongue in *Babylon* by the command of the King. Neither are all Apocryphal Books to be thought not written in Hebrew; for that excellent Book of the Son of *Syrach*, as is manifest by his Preface to it, was a translation out of the Hebrew Copy of his Grand-father *Jesus*. The Reason why such Books were not received by the Jews into the Canon, was not what you suggest, but because they seem'd not written by that kinde of prophesie which they called *Ruach Hakkodesh* (*a*).

a See Vossius in Prosm. Pug. fid. p. 103.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I confess (*b*) St. *Hierom* had seen the first of the *Maccabees* in Hebrew.

b Lev. p. 199. c. 33.

Stud.

Stud. Neither is that rightly noted: For the Book which St. *Hierom* saw, as is thought by *Druſius*, a man profoundly learned in theſe matters, was the firſt Book of the Hiſtory of the *Haſmonæi*, whoſe Epoch was of later date, though the names are us'd promiſcuously amongſt the Jews.

(c) Lev. p. 203, 204.

Mr. *Hobbes.* I proceed to note, that (c) the Writers of the New Teſtament lived all in leſs then an age after Chriſts Aſcenſion, and had all of them ſeen our Saviour, or been his Diſciples, except St. *Paul*, and St. *Luke*; and conſequently whatſoever was written by them is as ancient as the time of the Apoſtles. But the time wherein the Books of the New Teſtament were received, and acknowledged by the Church to be of their writing, is not altogether ſo ancient--- Theſe Books, of which the Copies were not many, nor could eaſily be all in any one private mans hand, cannot be derived from a higher time, then that wherein the Governours of the Church collected, approved, and recommended them to us, as the Writings of thoſe Apoſtles and Diſciples, under whoſe names they go. The firſt Enumeration of all the Books, both of the Old and New Teſtament, is in the Canons of the Apoſtles, ſuppoſed to be collected by *Clement* the firſt (after St. *Peter*) Biſhop of *Rome*. But becauſe that is but ſuppoſed, and by many queſtioned, the Council of *Laodicea* is the firſt we know, that recommended the Bible to the then Chriſtian Churches, for the Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles: and this

this Council was held in the 364 year after Christ. At which time, though ambition had so far prevailed on the great Doctors of the Church, as no more to esteem Emperours though Christian, for the Shepherds of the people, but for Sheep; and Emperours not Christian, for Wolves; and endeavour'd to pass their Doctrine, not for counsel and information, as Preachers; but for Laws, as absolute Governours; and thought such frauds as tended to make the people more obedient to Christian Doctrine, to be pious; yet I am perswaded they did not therefore falsifie the Scriptures, though the Copies of the Books of the New Testament, were in the hands onely of the Ecclesiasticks; because if they had had an intention so to do, they would surely have made them more favourable to their power over Christian Princes, and civil Soveraignty, then they are.

Stud. It is plain to those who are versed in the Monuments of the Church, that the Books of the New Testament were declared Canon very early, though the precise time and place be not so easily known. Upon the Enumeration made in the Apostolick Canons, we rely not; not because that Book is to be esteemed wholly spurious; but because this Enumeration is made in the eighty fourth Canon. For the first fifty are those for whose antiquity we contend. It is true that the whole is call'd Apocryphal, by the Council (*a*) at *Rome* under Pope *Gelasius*; and it hath been answer'd, (*b*) that they were

(*a*) Bin. Conc. tom. 3. p. 663.
(*b*) Dr. Ham. Conc. Ignat. Ep. p. 4.

were so called, not as if they were not ancient Pieces, but because they were not made *Nomocanon* or Canon-law. But doubtless that Council rejected them as spurious Writings, numbring them amongst the late and feigned pieces of the Gospel of St. *Andrew*, the Revelation of St. *Paul*, the Books of *Og* the Gyant, of the Testament of *Job*, of the Daughters of *Adam*, and the like. But it hath also condemn'd the works of *Tertullian*, St. *Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and the History of *Eusebius*; and therefore it is not material what writing standeth or falleth, before such erroneous Judges. Certain it is by other passages, in ancient Writers, that the New Testament was acknowledg'd to be Canon, long enough before the Council of *Laodicea*. The earliest Christian Writers whose Books are derived to our hands, abound in citations of the New Testament, as the undoubted Register of what was done, and taught, and as the publick Rule. *Tertullian* (for example) citeth very many places out of every Book which now is contained in the Canon of the New Testament, if I except the second of St. *Peter*. And in his fourth Book against *Marcion* (e) he speaketh effectually to our present purpose. *If that* (said he) *be truest which was first, and that be first which was from the beginning, and that be from the beginning which is derived from the Apostles; it is also manifest, that that was from the Apostles which is sacred in the Churches of the Apostles. Let us see then what milk St.* Paul *fed the* Corinthians *with: by what rule the* Galatians *were reformed*

e Tert. adv. Marc. l. 4. p. 415.

reformed; what the Philippians, Thessalonians, Ephesians read, as also what the Romans preach, to whom St. Peter and St. Paul did leave the Gospel sealed with their bloud. We have also Churches instructed by St. John. For although Marcion hath rejected his Apocalypse, yet the succession of Bishops traced to the beginning, will establish him as the certain Author of that Book. And he had taught a while before (*d*), that the Gospel had Apostles and Apostolike men for their undoubted Authors. The Books then of the New Testament were received anciently enough, as the Writings of such whose names they bare, and as the Records of Truth. And for the Copies of them, they were so widely dispersed, that it was as hard to corrupt them all, as to poyson the Sea. They were before the Council of *Laodicea*, not onely in the hands of Ecclesiasticks, but of Christians of any profession; and of Heathens also. So it appeareth by the reflexions, invidiously made on them, by *Celsus*, and *Hierocles*; not to name *Porphyry*, who was once of the Jewish, then of the Christian Religion; and against both at last, by foul Apostacy. In the persecution of *Diocletian*, in the beginning of the fourth Century, there was an Edict for the delivering up the Copies of the Gospel: which for fear, was done by divers Christians, known by the name of *Traditores* in Church-History; and yet notwithstanding very many Copies were preserved by such good men, who valued the other state before this, and feared to be blotted out of the Book of life, if they should so contribute to the

(*d*) Tert. lib. p. 145. B.

ex-

extermination of the Books of Scripture. Hiſtorians tell us (*a*) that the number of the *Traditores* was very great; but that the number of ſuch who (as the Roman Office ſaith) choſe rather to give up themſelves to the Executioners, then to deliver up holy things to Dogs, was almoſt infinite: and amongſt theſe were very many Virgins, particularly *Criſpina*, *Marciana*, *Candida*. So apparently falſe it is, that the Copies were but few, and thoſe few onely in the hands of Eccleſiaſticks. But in whatſoever hands theſe Books were, and at whatſoever time they were firſt publickly acknowledged, in this (I think) we agree, (and *Julian* himſelf (*b*) confeſs'd it, when Apoſtate) that they are genuine.

(*a*) *Vide* Biſciol. *Epit. Annal.* Bar. *p.* 137. *Tradit. ingens numerus; ſed propè infinitus illarum, qui mortem potius, &c.*

(*b*) Jul. *Apoſt. Epiſt. p.* 195.

Mr. Hobbes. I ſee not (*c*) any reaſon to doubt, but that the Old and New Teſtament, as we have them now, are the true Regiſters of thoſe things, which were done and ſaid by the Prophets and Apoſtles.

(*c*) Lev. *p.* 204.

Stud. What hindereth then, that we may not at all times, do or ſpeak the things contained in them, after ſuch manner as we are there directed? And that the Scripture ſhould not be a perpetual Canon to every Chriſtian; ſeeing the Laws of Chriſt are contained in it, and the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles (who could bind them upon the Church with ſufficient right, though not with outward force) propounded them as neceſſary Rules of life? But, methinks, 'tis enough to conſtitute a Canon to any particular man,

man, if he may, by any means attain unto a certain belief, of any Rule, as delivered by Christ; without a superadded Decree Ecclesiastical or Civil.

Mr. *Hobbes.* That (c) the new Testament should in this sense be Canonical, that is to say, a Law in any place, where the Law of the Commonwealth had not made it so, is contrary to the nature of a Law. For a Law is the Commandment of that Man, or Assembly, to whom we have given Soveraign Authority, to make such Rules for the direction of our Actions, as he shall think fit; and to punish us when we do any thing contrary to the same. When therefore any other man shall offer unto us any other Rules, which the Soveraign Ruler hath not prescribed, they are but Counsel, and Advice; which, whether good or bad, he that is counselled, may without injustice refuse to observe; and when contrary to the Laws already established, without injustice cannot observe, how good soever he conceiveth it to be. I say, he cannot in this case observe the same in his actions; nor in his discourse with other men; though he may without blame believe his private Teachers, and wish he had the liberty to practise their advice; and that it were publickly received for Law.

c Lev. c. 42 p. 284 285

Stud. Then, it seems, before the days of *Constantine*, a private man was obliged to be a Jew, or a Gentile, according to the Civil Authority under which he was; and that Christianity did not oblige the conversation of any man.

d Lev. p. 285.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Christ (*d*) hath not subjected us to other Laws then those of the Commonwealth; that is, the Jews to the Law of *Moses*, (which he saith (*Mat.* 5.) he *came not to destroy, but to fulfil*) and other Nations to the Laws of their several Soveraigns.

Stud. That Christ subjected the Jews to the Law of *Moses*, considered as such, is a saying which relisheth both of ignorance and irreligion. It is evident that the very Law of the Ten Commandments, obligeth not any Christian man, (though he be supposed to live under a Jewish Soveraign) as delivered by *Moses*, but as the dictate of them agreeth with the Law of Nature, and of Christ, who advanced both Laws, and filled them up, adding as 'twere his last hand to an imperfect Draught. And for the Ceremonial Law, our Saviour came to put an end to it, because it was but an estate of expectation, and consisted in shadows of good things to come: and if he had established that as an enduring Law, he had, in effect, denied himself to be the true Messiah. For the sprinkling of the Altar with the bloud of Bulls and Goats, after the ancient manner of the Jews, importeth manifestly that the effectual Oblation is not yet offered: wherefore S. *Paul* (a) bespeaketh his *Galatians* after this manner: *Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage. Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. Moses* himself

a Gal. 5. 1, 2.

ſelf foretold that our Saviour ſhould ariſe after him, and become a Prophet to be obeyed in whatſoever he taught the people (*b*): where-fore *Ceſar Vanin*, who ſuffered as an Atheiſt, ſaid, in his Dialogues, that *Moſes* was not ſo politic as the Meſſiah, in delivering his Laws; becauſe he foretold the abrogation of them, whilſt Chriſt propounded his as everlaſting.

b Deut. 18. 15-18. *comp. with* Acts 3. 22. *&c.*

Then for Chriſts ſubjecting the Gentiles to the Law of their Civil Soveraign, of what perſwaſion ſoever, it is contrary to the great deſigne of our Saviours coming: for amongſt the Heathen the worſhip of falſe Gods was the Law of their Country. It was one of the Laws of the twelve Tables (*c*), that no man ſhould have a perſonal Religon, but worſhip ſuch Gods, and in ſuch manner, as the Law of this Country did preſcribe. And *Cicero* ſhews how, in his days, it was not lawful to worſhip any ſort of Gods; leſt a confuſion ſhould be brought into Religion. Hence *Auguſtus*, travelling in *Ægypt*, would not ſtep out of his way, to viſit *Apis*; and *Caius* his Nephew, paſſing through *Judea*, would not worſhip at *Jeruſalem*. Hence *Socrates* and *Protagoras*, maintaining opinions diſagreeing with the Religion of their Country, were condemned; and *Anacharſis*, alſo, ſuffered in *Scythia* for celebrating the Feaſt of *Bacchus*, by the Forraign Ceremonies of *Greece*. Hence Chriſt was not regiſtred in the *Calendar* of the Gods, though *Tiberius* underſtanding his Divinity from *Pontius Pilate*, gave his ſuffrage for it; becauſe it pleaſed not the Senate; and becauſe (ſaith *Tertullian*) it

c Nemo ſe-paratim Deos habeſcit.

was an old Decree of *Rome*, that no man should be consecrated for a Deity by the Emperour, without their Approbation. If then all persons were to be outwardly obedient to the Civil powers, they were to worship false Deities; Idolatry being then established by a Law: but on the contrary, it is evident, that one main end of our Saviours coming was to destroy the works of the devil, and to bring the Gentiles from the worship of *Dæmons*, to the service of the true God. Idolaters, therefore, are reckon'd amongst those who shall not inherit the kingdom of Christ: and S. *Paul* wrote so much

a 1 Cor. 6. 9 Ephes. 5. 5 1 Cor. 10. 7 particularly to (*d*) the *Corinthians*, and *Ephesians*, of those days, when the Powers were Heathen; and not merely to such as should read his Epistles in and after the Reign of *Constantine* and preaching at *Athens* against the Altar, To *the unknown God* (set up, no doubt, by publick Authority) and declaiming against the honour paid to false Gods; he lets them understand that the times of the ignorance of the Gentiles

e Acts 17. 30, 31. (*e*) God winked at, but now he commandeth all men everywhere to repent; because he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.

a Leviath. p 285. Mr. *Hobbes*. Such discourses are Counsels and not Laws. Our Saviour (*a*) and his Apostles left no new Laws to oblige us in the world, but new Doctrine to prepare us for the

next

next; the Books of the New Teſtament which contain that Doctrine, until obedience to them was commanded, by them that God had given power to on earth to be Legiſlators, were not obligatory Canons, that is, Laws, but onely good, and ſafe advice, for the direction of ſinners in the way to ſalvation, which every man might take, and refuſe at his peril, without injuſtice.

Stud. The Doctrines of Chriſt avail not, at all, towards an entrance into his kingdom, without obedience (*b*) to his Laws: and beſides, thoſe of mere Nature, he hath left new Laws unto the world: ſuch are thoſe of forgiving enemies, and againſt private Revenge: thoſe, concerning Baptiſm, and his holy Supper: concerning Divorce and Polygamy: concerning a profeſſing of faith in him as the Meſſiah; concerning an Inward Religion, which the Governours of the world cannot take cognizance of; and which *Trypho* the Jew, with many others, hath denied to have been given by *Moſes*, whoſe Laws they ſuppoſe to have extended not to the thought, but the converſation. That which concerns Polygamy hath (I know) bin doubted; yet (as it ſeemeth to me) without reaſon: for when our Saviour ſaid (*c*) that he who putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth Adultery; he plainly forbad plurality of wives at the ſame time; which if it had bin allowed, the man might have taken more then another to him, without ſin. Here then the Law of perfection hath bound us, where Na-

b Heb 5.9.

c S Luke 16.18.

ture ſeemeth to have left us at liberty. Now ſeeing theſe Inſtitutions are the will of Chriſt, and that Chriſt hath made ſufficient promulgation of them to millions of men, and that he is King of kings, and Lord of lords, and that he hath annexed to them the greateſt rewards and puniſhments to ſecure them from violation; it is evident that theſe are ſufficient Laws, both without and againſt the Civil Sanction. For to ſay that the Princes of the Earth are Superior to Chriſt, is a Blaſphemy of ſuch altitude, that the ninetieth degree being cut, we can ſcarce take the heighth of it. What maketh a Superiour Law, but a Superiour Power, declaring his Will in ſome particular inſtances, to be obey'd? The Prohibition of the Tree of Life was the firmeſt Law to *Adam*, though no humane Law was then enacted; nay, although *Adam* was King of the Earth.

But, if the Chriſtian Faith was not a Law for more then three hundred years, to what end is it (*d*), that the Apoſtles, and other Paſtors of the Church, after their time ſhould meet together, to decree upon what Doctrine ſhould be taught, both for faith and manners, if no man were obliged to obſerve their Decrees?

d See Lev. p. 285.

e Ibid.

Mr. *Hobbes*. To this (*e*) may be anſwered, that the Apoſtles and Elders of that Council, were obliged even by their entrance into it, to teach the Doctrine therein concluded, and decreed to be taught, ſo far forth, as no precedent Law, to which they were obliged to yeild obedience, was to the contrary; but not that all other

other Christians should be obliged to observe what they taught: For though they might deliberate what each of them should teach; yet they could not deliberate what others should do, unless their Assembly had had a Legislative Power; which none could have but civil Soveraigns.

Stud. That is, the Gospel preached by them was no Law then, because it did not cut its way by the Temporal Sword, and had no outward Power to give it countenance, and urge its entertainment. Is that your meaning?

Mr. *Hobbes.* You conjecture aright: For (*a*) in Christs Commission to his Apostles and Disciples there is nothing of power but persuasion. They had not in Commission to make Laws, but to obey, and teach obedience to Laws made; and consequently they could not make their writings obligatory Canons, without the help of the Soveraign Civil Power.

a Lev. p. 285.

Stud. That (*b*) which may seem to give the New Testament, in respect of those that have embraced Christian Doctrine, the force of Laws in the times and places of persecution, is the Decrees they made amongst themselves in their Synods. For we read (*Acts* 15. 28.) the style of the Council of the Apostles, the Elders, and the whole Church, in this manner: *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and unto us, to lay upon you no greater burthen then these necessary things*, &c. which is a style that signifieth a power to

b *See in the end of that page, and p. 286.*

lay a burthen on them that had received their Doctrine. Now to lay a burthen on another, seemeth the same that to oblige; and therefore the Acts of that Council were Laws to the then Christians.

Mr. *Hobbes*. They were no more Laws then are those other Precepts, *Repent; be baptized; keep the commandments; believe the Gospel; come unto me; sell all that thou hast; give it to the poor; and, follow me*: which are not Commands, but Invitations, and callings of men to Christianity, like that of *Esay* 55. 1. *Ho, every man that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.*

Stud. It seemeth strange that such Counsels should not therefore be Laws, (though some of them are given imperatively enough) because men are gently wooed and invited, and not by outward force compelled to an outside obedience. Our subordination to Christ obligeth us to the performance of his revealed will, which is, for that reason, Law. And because he chooseth to rule us, rather with a Scepter of Righteousness, then an iron Rod, we are, by that, the more obliged, and not at liberty from obedience. You ought, therefore, to have said, not that the Doctrines of our Saviour were not Laws, but that the Civil Soveraign may lay a further obligation upon his Christian subjects, (as those that make a vow of Chastity, do, upon themselves) by making them become his Laws. Thus many Articles of the Christian Faith are inserted into the first Law of the *Codex*

The-

Theodosianus; not having thereby, first obtained, but doubled their obligation. But this string of errour runneth through the whole body of your *Leviathan*, that, without apparent force, there is no Law. And this is the chief ground of your irreverent and false Doctrine, against the Power of the Christian Church. Because it is a visible society professing the Doctrine of the Cross, and hath not of it self external co-active Power, but, by virtue of the Commission of Christ as King, layeth spiritual obligation upon men, (and thereby is consistent with the Civil Empire, in which it is,) therefore you deny unto the Church the right either of making or declaring Laws (*c*) as if there were not onely a quibble but a truth, in the meaning of the Frontispiece of your *Leviathan*, which compares the Canons of the Convocation, to those of the temporal Militia; and that they could not properly have that name, unless they had Powder, and Bullet, and Fire, (external force) attending on them. It is plain enough (and you your self do own it) that after the Ascension (*d*) of our Lord, the Power Ecclesiastical, was in the Apostles; and after them, in such as were by them ordained to preach the Gospel, and to convert men to Christianity, and to direct them that were converted in the way of Salvation; and after these, the Power was delivered again to others by these ordained. But how this Spiritual Power, in the Administration of Spiritual Affairs in Christ's Kingdom; in ordaining Successors; in celebrating the Eucharist; in loosing

(*c*) *Lev:* p. 171.

(*d*) *Lev.* p. 267.

and

and binding; in admitting members into this Spiritual but visible Society by Baptisme (which is a proof both of the Society and its Power) how all this (I say) was derived on the person of *Constantine*, who was neither Ordained, nor (as some tell us) baptized till his death; requireth greater skill to explain, then I dare yet pretend to: he therefore rather gave outward aids and succours, then true Authority and Right to the Doctrines and Commandments of his Soveraign Jesus. Which things being well consider'd, you ought not to have ascrib'd (as somewhere you have done) the very rights of the Priestly Function to the Civil Powers. *Grotius*, who has not had thanks from all for his liberality to the Civil Magistrate in relation to the Affairs of the Church, hath yet made it his whole designe (in the second Chapter of his Book *De Imperio summarum potestatum circa Sacra*) to make it manifest, that Authority about Holy things, and the Sacred Function, are distinct. In the same person they may be (as in *Anius* the King and Priest of *Phœbus*) but not without Ordination. For the Power depending upon our Lords Commission, is not convey'd but by Succession, through the hands of the Commissioned. Our thirty seventh Article, doth attribute to the King a Power of outward Rule in Ecclesiastical matters, yet granteth not to him either the ministring of Gods Word, or of the Sacraments. And under the Law it was said unto *Uzziah* the King (*a*) It pertaineth not unto thee *Uzziah* to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests the sons

(*a*) 2 Chron. 26. 18, 19, &c.

of

of *Aaron*, that are consecrated to burn incense. And because he would use his force in usurping the rights of the Priest, God Almighty smote him with immediate Leprosie; and taught him to discern betwixt might and right. Yet the Kings of *Judah* had power in the Synagogue. They had to *de facto*; neither in many things, wherein they ordered Religion, were they reproved. Yet to say the truth, the having such right is no where commanded in the Old Law; which enjoyn'd not the people to have a King; but, upon conditions, permitted one to them, if they should prefer the customs of the Heathen-nations, before the most excellent estate of *Theocracie*. Wherefore let them see whether they build closely, who establish the Ecclesiastical Power of Christian Princes, upon the exercise of it amongst the Kings of *Judah*. It concerneth you also to consider whether you have not unduly ascrib'd unto the Prince, as such, the Power of the Keys, and the Right of Ordination, and Ministration of the Sacraments, and Word of Christ. *The Monarch* (say you) *or* (b) *the Soveraign Assembly onely hath immediate Authority from God, to teach and instruct the people; and no man but the Soveraign receiveth his Power* Dei Gratia *simply — He it is that hath* (c) *authority not onely to preach (which perhaps no man will deny;) but also to baptize, and to administer the Sacrament of the Lords Supper; and to consecrate both Temples and Pastors to Gods service — If the Soveraign Power* (d) *give me command (though without the ceremony of imposition of hands) to teach the Doctrine of my*

b Lev. p. 125.

c Lev. p. 297.

d Stigmata p. 18.

my Leviathan *in the Pulpit, why am not I, if my Doctrine and life be as good as yours, a Minister as well as you?* This is saying and not proving; and becauſe the Power was from Chriſt derived to the Apoſtles, and from them in Succeſſion, by Ordination; and can be in none to whom it is not convey'd in ſuch a Channel; what you have ſaid, had you been verſed in the ſeveral Writings of a Divine of the Church of *England* (a man of greater and better Learning then either your ſelf or Mr. *Selden*, whoſe Doctrine you ſeem to have ſwallow'd down together with the good proviſions of his Table; and who is ſaid to have miſtaken the very ſtate of the *Eraſtian*-Controverſie (*a*) whilſt he defined Excommunication to be a cenſure inferring a civil penalty;) you would have either altered your opinion, or aggravated your error.

(*a*) *See* Juſt weights & meaſ. p. 25

It appeareth, by what hath been delivered, that there is Authority enough, without the civil Sanction, to make the Doctrines of the Apoſtles to become Laws, to wit, the Kingly Power of Chriſt, whoſe Commiſſioners they were, and who had power to cauſe their rights to deſcend to others by Ordination. And before the days of *Conſtantine*, there wanted not the Fountain of outward force, not onely in our Lord, who could daſh in pieces Soveraigns of the fineſt mold; but alſo in his Members, who (as is manifeſt from Eccleſiaſtical ſtory) had often ſtrength enough to have check'd the fury of their perſecutors, and to have forc'd the yoke of Chriſt upon their necks. But it ſeemed

good

good to our bleſſed Lord, during this ſtate of mans probation; to deal chiefly with him, according to his reaſonable nature, and to invite rather then compel. And yet, methinks, the threatnings of eternal vengeance ſeem to carry more force with them, then all the priſons in the world. And it is time to think that the Goſpel obligeth, when we hazard perpetual miſery by diſobeying it, whether we be Jews or Greeks, if its ſound hath reached us.

Mr. *Hobbes*. The Jews and Gentiles were to be damned, not for their infidelity, but (*a*) their old ſins. If the Apoſtles Acts of Council were Laws, they could not without ſin be diſobeyed. But we read not any where that they who receiv'd not the Doctrine of Chriſt, did therein ſin; but that they dyed in their ſins; that is, that the ſins againſt the Laws to which they owed obedience, were not pardoned. And thoſe Laws were the Laws of Nature, and the Civil Laws of the State, whereto every Chriſtian man had by pact ſubmitted himſelf. And therefore by the burthen, which the Apoſtles might lay on ſuch as they had converted, are not to be underſtood Laws, but Conditions, propoſed to thoſe that ſought Salvation; which they might accept or refuſe at their own peril, without a new ſin, though not without the hazard of being condemned and excluded out of the Kingdom of God, for their ſins paſt. And therefore of Infidels St. *John* ſaith not, the wrath of God ſhall come upon them, but the wrath of God remaineth upon them; and not

(*a*) Lev. p. 286.

John 3. 36
John 3. 18

that

that they ſhall be condemned, but that they are condemned alreadie.

Stud. What will not a man ſay rather then acknowledge himſelf in an errour, though the thing it ſelf ſpeaketh it? Here's miſtake clap'd upon miſtake: yet the ſcales of the *Leviathan* are not ſo cloſe, but a blinde Archer may ſhoot between them. Have you not read what our Lord ſaid to his diſciples, after his reſurrection?

b S. *Marc.* 16.15.16. *Go ye into all the world* (b), *and preach the Goſpel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized* ſhall *be ſaved; and he that believeth not* ſhall *be damned.* The Author, alſo, to the *Hebrews* (c) exhorteth the Jews to believe in Chriſt; and telleth them they ſhall, for ever, be excluded the Kingdom of heaven for their unbelief, (if they perſevere in it) as their forefathers came ſhort of *Canaan*, for the ſame reaſon. And although S. *John*, in the places cited, doth ſpeak in the preſent tenſe, yet in others of the ſame Chapter, he ſpeaketh in the future: and in that very verſe which you cite partially, concealing the words which are againſt you, he maketh their unbelief the cauſe of that ſevere decree which, already, was gone forth. V. 18. *He that believeth on him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already*, becauſe *he hath not* believed *in the name of the onely begotten Son of God.* V. 19. *This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkneſs rather then light, becauſe their deeds were evil.* V. 36. *He that believeth on the Son hath everlaſting life; and he that believeth not the Son* ſhall *not ſee life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.*

c Heb. 4. 11. &c.

Mr.

Mr. *Hobbes.* There is, yet, behinde a reason, whereby I prove that the doctrine of the Gospel is not made Law, by Christ or his Apostles. The Apostles power (*a*) was no other then that of our Saviour, to invite men to embrace the Kingdome of God; which they themselves acknowledged for a Kingdome (not present, but) to come; and they that have no Kingdome can make no Laws.

(*a*) *Lev. c. 42. p. 286.*

Stud. Christ, as Mediator, before his Resurrection, had power of making stronger Laws then any Soveraigns now upon Earth, for he had immediate Commission from God in Heaven. *He that saw Christ* (b) *saw him that sent him; and whatsoever Christ spake, even as the Father said unto him, so he spake. And he that rejected him was to be condemned by his words at the last day.* And Christ when his Father sent him, was design'd to be a King over Men and Angels, and for that purpose he came into the World: and he acquired this Kingship by way of Conquest in his resurrection from the dead: after which he spake (c) unto his Disciples, saying, *All power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway unto the end of the World.* And when he ascended and sate on the right hand of God, he was inaugurated into his Heavenly Kingdom (*d*) and became in truth a Divine

(b) John 12. 45. 48. 50.

(c) Mat. 28. 18.

(*d*) 1 Pet. 3. *Heroes* 22.

Heroe, as those amongst the Heathens were in pretence; and he at present raigneth, be the Earth never so rebellious, in the Oeconomie of his Church.

But to step, out of this, into our

Tenth Place of Discourse: if the commands of Christ and his Apostles, are not, also, Laws, without the civil Sanction; what meaneth the common doctrine, in the Scripture, of suffering for the sake of Christianitie? we are enjoyned to take up the Cross, and to follow Christ: Blessednes is promised to those who are persecuted for righteousnes sake; that suffer as Christians: and we are taught, that the way to preserve our lives, is to loose them, for a time, in the glorious cause of Jesus. Such commands and exhortations to dye rather then to obey unchristian injunctions, are delivered in vain; yea they deserve the name of impious, if they be not a royal Law, without the stamp and allowance of civil Authoritie. It is then, in your opinion, not only our Priviledge but our duty, to save the skin entire; and, for the sake of outward safety, to obey that which is truly Law, the Law of our Countrie, though we live amongst the Heathens; rather then to follow dangerous, though Evangelical, Counsel.

I Mr. *Hobbes*. You may easily make conjecture of my sense, in the present case; because I say the disobedient to the civil Powers do violate that which is properly Law. We are not obliged (e) to obey any Minister of Christ, if he should command us to do any thing contrary

(e) Lev. p. 271.

trary to the command of the King, or other Soveraign repreſentant of the Common-wealth whereof we are Members, and by whom we look to be protected.

Stud. Were this truth, there ought not to have bin any zealous propagation of the Goſpel; but it ſhould have expired, with the Author of it upon the Croſs. For the Apoſtles ſinned both againſt the Law of Nature, and Common-wealth, in expoſing their lives to hazzard by preaching to the Gentiles; if it was injuſtice to gain-ſay their Pagan Edicts. St. *Thomas*, then, though armed with Miracles to command aſſent, ought, either not to have wandred to the *Eaſt-Indies*; or being there, not to have preached up a new Religion: and what he ſuffered, for that cauſe, was juſt, from the hand of Pagan Authority.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Into what place (*a*) ſoever a man ſhall come, if he do any thing contrary to the Law, it is a crime. If a man come from the *Indies* hither, and perſwade men here to receive a new Religion, or teach them any thing that tendeth to diſobedience of the Laws of his Country, though he be never ſo well perſwaded of the truth of what he teacheth, he commits a crime, and may be juſtly puniſhed for the ſame, not only becauſe his doctrine is falſe, but alſo becauſe he does that which he would not approve in another, namely, that coming from hence, he ſhould endeavour to alter the Religion there.

(*a*) Lev. c. 27. p. 152.

Stud. A good man would be desirous of information, in matters of the greatest moment, from what quarter soever of the Heavens, the light shined into his understanding: and the question is only of the assurance which the Teacher can give, and not of the equity of his Practice. But, to pass by that enquiry, I cannot refrain from asking you (though I can guess at your opinion) whether every Traveller is bound to profess the Religion of that Country into which he goeth? I mean not this of meer prudence and caution, of an open countenance and close breast; but of actual compliance with all foraign institutions; so as to do as men do at *Rome*, or *Constantinople*, or *Agra*, if we were sojourners there.

Mr. *Hobbes.* To this I shall, by and by, say something particularly; but I will now, in general terms, affirm, that whosoever (*b*) entreth into anothers Dominion, is subject to all the Laws thereof; unless he have a priviledge by the Amity of the Soveraigns, or by special Licence.

(*b*) Leviath. p. 144.

Stud. Seeing then the Romanists depend much upon *Opus operatum*; if you returned but to *Paris*, the prayer of Monsieur *Sorbiere* would be heard, who, (in his Voyage, when he weeded *England*) desired you might become a good Catholick: this digression puts me in mind of a saying of B. *Andrews*, who, when it was told, that some of the Scotch-Clergie, were to be made Bishops; advised, that they

should

should be made Priests First.

But, what great motive is there to this compliance with the civil Power, of any perswasion?

Mr. *Hobbes.* That I hinted, just now, in saying, that by them we look to be protected.

Stud. As if the favour of our Lord, the Prince of glory, towards his sincere, and faithful, patient, and undaunted subjects (who will not be baffled out of truth, nor be ashamed of the Gospel) were not of more value then the thin shelter of worldly-power; which, if it could hide us under Rocks and Mountains, could not secure us from the stroke of him, who is, in the first place, to be feared: methinks, in the competition betwixt danger from men and disobedience to Christ, (as in the case of such as are commanded by Heathen powers to sacrifice to *Dæmons*) it is easie to see on which hand we ought to turn: when there is before us, a Natural and a Moral evil, the Natural being the least, is therefore to be chosen: thus *Socrates* was obliged to prefer Death, before the acknowledgement of *Polytheism*; and by such choice, we, in truth, preserve our selves, and most effectually obey that dictate of Nature: for we part with a short and unpleasant, for an happy and endless life; and our health is eternally secured to us, by the effusion of the blood of Martyrdom: and, indeed, it hath been the sence of almost all mankind, derived from the fear of a God, or the excellent Nature of vir-

tue; that the honest good is to be preser'd before either the profitable, or the pleasant; and that in such cases, the powers on Earth are not to be obeyed, though upon the refusal of their pleasure, they will glut their malice with the blood of men.

The three Children, menaced with the Furnace, chose rather to suffer the wrath of *Nebuchadnezzar*, then to do his will, in worshiping the golden Image; and God Almighty declar'd his acceptance of such a refusal, whilst, by Miracle he delivered them. And the fact of those Parents who saved *Moses*, not being afraid (*a*) of the commandment of *Pharaoh*, who design'd all the Males of *Israel* for slaughter, is deliver'd down unto posteritie, with honour and applause, by the Author to the *Hebrews*: and in that little book of Martyrs, we read (*b*) of some, who scorn'd to accept of a temporal deliverance, when it was offer'd to them, upon the unworthie terms of Apostacie or recantation; they having, in their eye, a greater reward. And it is recorded, rather to the same then reproach of the *Eastern Magi*, (*c*) that in returning to their Countrie, they passed by, *Herod*, who had, with evil intent, commanded them to bring him word concerning the birth of the King of the Jews. If a Prince (said (*d*) *Tatianus*) commands me to deny my God, I will rather dye at his foot, then live to exercise his pleasure: and the holy Bishop *Felix Africanus* and his Associates (men of great Integritie and constancie of mind) would rather give up their own lives, then the copies

a Heb. 11. 23.

b V. 35.

c S. Mat. 2. 8. &c.

d Tatian. *p* 144.

of

of the new Testament which *Dioclesian* intended so to destroy, that it might not be found at all in the Annals of the World, that ever there was such a doctrine as Christianitie. The very *Grecians*, whose manner was to use prostration only in the Rites of their Religion, refused, what peril soever was imminent, to worship, in that fashion the King of *Persia*: and the Christians who somtimes payed a civil respect before the Images of the Emperours, chose rather to expose themselves to the crueltie of their Enemies, then to humble themselves, as in former daies, when *Julian* added to them, the Images of false Gods: and such refusals are not destructive of Government and Societie, because the true Christian, doth not, in these cases, fill the World with clamours, or endeavour to raise tumults, but is led in imitation of his Saviour, like an innocent and weak Lamb, unto the slaughter (*e*).

Mr. *Hobbes*. For an (*f*) unlearned man, that is in the power of an idolatrous King or State, if commanded on pain of death to worship before an Idol, he detesteth the Idol in his heart, he doth well, though if he had the fortitude to suffer death rather then to worship it, he should do better.

Stud. The most obscure and illiterate person, doing outward worship to false Gods, though he sinneth not with such scandal as the wise and the renowned, who are apt to draw a multitude into the like snare, yet he is not to be

e Orig. *eorum* Cels. l. 3. Οὐκέτι γὰρ λαμβάνομεν ἐπ' ἔθνος μάκαιραν, ἢ δὲ μανθάνομεν ἔτι πολεμεῖν γενόμενοι διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν υἱοὶ τῆς εἰρήνης.

f Lev. c. 45. p. 362.

acquitted as an innocent man. For, by such means, the Idolators who affright this man out of his Religion, do triumph over the honour of the true God, the procuring of whose dishonour is against Reason, which teacheth man, apart, to adore his Soveraign Lord, and in Societie, to be publick in his adoration, and not to conceal it under the Vizour of an ill-instructed Pagan who serveth Devils. *Reason* (you know) directeth, not only to worship God in secret; but also, and especially in publick, and in the sight of men: for without that, (that which in honour is most acceptable) the procuring others to honour him, is lost.

a Lev. p. 192.

But to come to somwhat peculiar in Christianitie; what if (*b*) a King or a Senate, or other Soveraign Person, forbid us to believe in Christ?

b Lev. c. 42. p 271.

c Ibid. Mr. *Hobbes.* To this (*c*) I answer, that such forbiding is of no effect; because belief and unbelief never follow mens commands. Faith is a gift of God, which man can neither give, nor take away, by promise of rewards, or menaces of torture.

d Ibid. *Stud.* But (*d*) what if we be commanded by our lawful Prince, to say with our tongue, we believe not; must we obey such command?

e Ibid. Mr. *Hobbes.* Profession (*e*) with the tongue is but an external thing, and no more then any other gesture whereby we signifie our obedience; and wherein a Christian who holdeth firmly

firmly in his heart the faith of Christ, hath the same Liberty which the Prophet *Elisha* allowed to *Naaman* the *Syrian*. —— *Naaman* believed in his heart; but by bowing before the Idol *Rimmon*, he denyed the true God in effect, as much as if he had done it with his lips. 2 Kings 5. 17.

Stud. In both these answers you miss-understand the Faith of the Gospel, which is not complete, unless the outward profession answereth to the inward act of assent: for the Church is a visible societie professing the Christian faith; which men entered into by a visible sign; in which are Officers of divers ranks; in which there is a communion of visible symbols; and he that chooseth only to have faith in his heart, renounceth his title of Member, in this spiritual Societie: our Saviour commanded his Disciples, that their light should shine before men. And St. *John* (*f*) upbraideth many of the chief Rulers, who believed on Christ, but, because of the *Pharisees*, did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the Synagogue: because they loved the praise of men more then the praise of God. Hear also what St. *Paul* saith unto the *Romans*: (*g*) *If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto Salvation.* For *Naaman*, who was a *Gentile*, amongst *Gentiles*, he had promised to sacrifice for the future, to

f John 12. 42, 43.

g Rom. 10. 9, 10.

none but the God of *Israel*; and his incurvation was his civil Office towards the King, for which notwithstanding, he begg'd especial License. If this be not an answer, I refer you to *Episcopius* (*) who will not send you away unsatisfied.

But what can you (*b*) answer to our Saviours saying, *Whosoever denyeth me before men, I will deny him before my Father which is in Heaven?*

Mr. *Hobbes.* This (*i*) we may say, that whatsoever a subject, as *Naaman* was, is compelled to in obedience to his Soveraign, and doth it not in order to his own minde, but in order to the Laws of his Country, that action is not his, but his Soveraigns; nor is it he that, in this case, denyeth Christ before men, but his Governour, and the Law of his Country.

Stud. Instead of shewing the consistencie of your Doctrine with our Saviour's words, you tacitly accuse them, either of impertinency, or ill advice: For you make him to speak to this effect: Persecutions will arise (*a*), but be willing to be treated like your Master, a man of sufferings, and acquainted with grief: and fear not the faces (*b*) and menaces of men; but publish, in the openest manner, unto the World (*c*), such Doctrines as you hear in private, whilst you sit at my feet. And do not so fear (*d*) those who persecute you, as to save your bodily life by the renouncing or suppressing of

* Episcop. *Resp. ad* 64. *Quæst.* p. 59, 60.

b Lev. p. 271.

i Ibid.

a S. Mat. 10. 23, 24, 25.

b Vers. 20.

c Vers. 27.

d Vers. 28.

of my Doctrine: but stand in aw of me, whom if ye disobey, ye forfeit life eternal. And remember that there is a God (*e*), who, in such perilous times, will take care of you. If, therefore, you will own and publish my Faith, (*f*) I will own you as my loyal Subjects, and make you happy in my Kingdom: if you will renounce my Faith for fear of men, I will not take notice of you, as appertaining to me, when you shall stand in the greatest need of protection. But, though I have said all this, yet upon second thoughts it seemeth reasonable that I excuse you, and condemn such bloudy Powers as shall, by persecution, compel you to blaspheme: 'Tis they who force open your mouths, and move your tongues, and form the breath, and renounce me; but you are all the time very sound Believers; Believers in your hearts. And therefore, if you deny me before such powers, I will transfer the blame on them. So wretched is your Paraphrase, that it overthroweth the plainest and often-reapted letter of the Text. But supposing that our Saviour had not delivered himself thus expressly against your Doctrine; how would you have reconcil'd your gross dissimulation with that sincerity which the Searcher of the hearts requireth?

(*e*) Verses 29,30,31.

(*f*) Verses 32,33.

Mr. *Hobbes*. If any man (*g*) shall accuse this Doctrine, as repugnant to true, and unfeigned Christianity; I ask him, in case there should be a subject in any Christian Common-wealth, that

(*g*) Lev. p. 271,272.

that ſhould be inwardly in his heart of the Mahometan Religion, whether if his Soveraign command him to be preſent at the Divine-ſervice of the Chriſtian Church, and that on pain of death, he think that Mahometan obliged in conſcience to ſuffer death for that Cauſe, rather then to obey that command of his lawful Prince. If he ſay, he ought rather to ſuffer death, then he authorizeth all private men, to diſobey their Princes, in maintainance of their Religion, true or falſe: If he ſay, he ought to be obedient, then he alloweth to himſelf, that which he denyeth to another.

Stud. In this reply, which toucheth not the propoſed difficulty, you run out into two abſurd ſuppoſitions. Firſt, that a Chriſtian Magiſtrate ſheddeth the bloud of an Heathen for not frequenting the Chriſtian Aſſemblies: next, that there is a parity of reaſon in the perſecution of a Chriſtian, and of a Mahometan; and that the *Alcoran* may as much oblige the Conſcience, as the Teſtament of our Lord.

(g) Lev. p. 272. But I muſt again ask you, what you (g) will ſay of all thoſe Martyrs we read of in the Hiſtory of the Church? I hope you will not ſay that they have needleſly caſt away their lives. Their bloud hath been more truely the ſeed of the Chriſtian Church, then the opinion of Ghoſts, Ignorance of ſecond cauſes, Devotion towards what men fear, and taking of things caſual for Prognoſticks, have ever been (as you affirm) the ſeeds of natural Religion, which

(*a*) which is generated out of the inquiſitive temper of men, who, by obſerving any excellent effect, are naturally led to ſearch out the cauſe, and ſo proceed to the firſt Original. The Martyrs (I ſay) did, under Chriſt, preſerve the Chriſtian Faith, which if it had not been profeſſed with the mouth, would have dy'd away, as a ſpark where no breath doth cheriſh it. Their memory is precious in the Church of God, and their names will be had in everlaſting remembrance. They have been thought (*b*) to have the priviledge of riſing firſt, and, in that ſence, to have a part in the firſt Reſurrection. The Chriſtians anciently kept their Aſſemblies at their Monuments: and the Church of *Alexandria* (*c*) beginneth its account, at the *Æra* of holy Martyrs. And yet you ſeem to diſreſpect them as imprudent Zealots, and to think their bloud was but ſo much water ſpilt upon the ground, a raſh and uſeleſs effect.

a Lev. p. 54.

b See Mr. Mede's works, p. 944.

c See Scal. de Em. Temp. Proleg. p. 18.

Mr. *Hobbes*. For anſwer hereunto (*d*), we are to diſtinguiſh the perſons that have been for that Cauſe put to death; whereof ſome have received a Calling to preach, and profeſs the Kingdom of Chriſt openly; others have had no ſuch Calling, nor more has been required of them then their own Faith. The former ſort, if they have been put to death, for bearing witneſs to this point, that Jeſus Chriſt is riſen from the dead, were true Martyrs; for a Martyr is, (to give the true definition of the word)

d Lev. p. 272.

a witness of the Resurrection of Jesus the *Messiah*, which none can be but those that conversed with him on earth, and saw him after he was risen: for a witness must have seen what he testifieth, or else his testimony is not good. And this is manifest from *Acts* 1.21,22. of these men which have companyed with us-- must one be a Martyr (that is, a Witness) with us of his Resurrection. Where we may observe that he which is to be a witness of the truth of the Resurrection of Christ —— must be —— one of his Original Disciples: whereas they which were not so, can witness no more, but that their Antecessors said it, and are therefore but witnesses of other mens Testimony; and are but second Martyrs, or Martyrs of Christs witnesses.

Stud. By this answer, wherein you approve of the Martyrdom of the Apostles, you grant unto me what I contend for, and contradict your former doctrine. For if the Apostles, drawing temporal deaths upon themselves, by preaching the Gospel, when they were enjoyned to desist, by the Civil Powers, are to be justified by us, and honour'd, for such resistance unto bloud; then there was given to them a Superiour Law by Christ, by the vertue of which higher obligation they were free from active duty to the Civil Powers: otherwise, if without a Law, they had opposed the present Governours, they had been pernicious Rebels, and not honourable Defenders of the Faith.

What

What you add concerning the word Martyr, is a weak nicety of Grammar, upon which the ſtreſs of this Cauſe doth not depend. For the Queſtion is not, whether no man be properly call'd a Witneſs but an eye-witneſs, or he who beareth teſtimony of report received at ſecond or third hand; but whether, at any diſtance of time, a man may not have ſufficient ground to believe the Goſpel; and whether, after the hearty belief of it, he may with his mouth renounce it out of a tender regard to fleſh and bloud.

To proceed in this Argument; there is yet remaining another objection, to which, I know not what anſwer can be by you returned. It is the Argument uſed by St. *Peter* and St. *John*, to the Rulers of the people and Elders of *Iſrael*, when, by menaces, they urg'd them to deſiſt from the propagation of the holy Goſpel: *Whether it be right* (ſaid thoſe Apoſtles) *in the ſight of God, to hearken unto you more then unto God, judge ye* (*a*).

(*a*) Acts 4. 19.

Mr. *Hobbes*. If the command (*b*) of the Civil Soveraign be ſuch, as that it may be obeyed, without the forfeiture of life eternal; not to obey it is unjuſt —— but if it be ſuch as cannot be obeyed, without being damned to eternal death, then it were madneſs to obey it.—— All men, therefore, that would avoid, both the puniſhments that are to be in this world inflicted, for diſobedience to their earthly Soveraign, and thoſe that ſhall be inflicted in the world to come

(*b*) *Lev. p.* 321, *c.* 43.

come for disobedience to God, have need to be taught to distinguish well between what is, and what is not necessary to eternal Salvation. —— Now (*c*) all that is necessary to Salvation, is contained in two Vertues, Faith in Christ, and Obedience to Laws. Now —— (*d*) our Saviour Christ hath given us no new Laws, but counsel to observe those we are subject to; that is to say, the Laws of Nature, and the Laws of our several Soveraigns: and for Faith, The (*e*) (*Unum necessarium*) onely Article of Faith, which the Scripture maketh simply necessary to Salvation, is this, That Jesus is the Christ. Having thus (*f*) shown, what is necessary to Salvation; it is not hard to reconcile our obedience to God, with our obedience to the civil Soveraign, who is either Christian or Infidel. If he be a Christian, he alloweth the belief of this Article, that Jesus is the Christ; and of all the Articles that are contained in it, or are, by evident consequence, deduced from it, which is all the Faith necessary to Salvation: and because he is a Soveraign, he requireth obedience to all his own, that is, to all the Civil Laws; in which also are contained all the Laws of Nature, that is, all the Laws of God: for besides the Laws of Nature, and the Laws of the Church, which are part of the Civil Law, (for the Church that can make Laws is the Common-wealth,) there be no other Laws Divine. —— And when the civil Soveraign is an Infidel, every one of his own subjects that resisteth him, sinneth against the Laws

c Lev. p. 322.

d Ibid. Sect. 3.

e Lev. p. 324.

f Lev. p. 330.

Laws of God. —— And for their Faith (g) it is internal, and invisible; they have the License that *Naaman* had, and need not put themselves into danger for it. But if they do, they ought to expect their reward in Heaven, and not to complain of their lawful Sovereign —— In the mean time, they are to intend to obey Christ at his coming, but at present they are bound to obey the Laws of that Infidel King: all Christians are bound in Conscience so to do. —— Thought is free (b) —— but when it comes to confession of Faith, the private Reason must submit to the publick; that is to say, to Gods Lieutenant.

g Lev. p. 331.

b Lev. p. 238.

Stud. Instead of the resolution of this Query, when we are to obey God, rather then man, you shew that we may very well do both together; and so indirectly you accuse the Apostles of falshood or folly in their suggestion. And here again you repeat your errors, that Christ hath not made any new Laws, and that the Faith of a Christian is intire without, or contrary to profession; and you suppose, what the experience of the World refuteth, that Infidel Kings command not sometimes against the Laws of Nature. Also, whilst here you remit the Martyrs, scoffingly, to heaven for a reward, you fall, unawares, into the mock of *Julian* the Apostate, who amidst his persecution, us'd this taunt; *It becometh not you Christians to enjoy any thing in this world, for your Kingdom is in Heaven.* But if such persons

sons as suffer for Christianity, shall be rewarded in Heaven; their constancie then was noble and excellent, whilst they chose trouble rather then base compliance; and those who inflicted evils on them for doing what God approved, were unjust. If then you remit the Martyrs to Heaven, you send the civil Soveraigns, who shed the bloud of the Apostles for disobedience to their unrighteous Edicts, to a place of less refreshment.

Mr. *Hobbes*. You have made your instance in the Apostles, of whose Martyrdom I approve, because of their Commission. For others, who hazard their lives for Christianity, I praise them not: he that is not sent (*a*) to preach the fundamental Articles, but taketh it upon him of his private Authority, though he be a witness, and consequently a Martyr, either primary of Christ, or secondary of his Apostles, or their Successors; yet is he not obliged to suffer death for that cause, because being not called thereto, 'tis not required at his hands; nor ought he to complain, if he looseth the reward he expecteth from those that never set him on work. None therefore can be a Martyr, neither of the first nor second degree, that have not a warrant to preach Christ come in the Flesh; that is to say, none, but such as are sent to the conversion of Infidels.

(*a*) *Lev. p. 272. c. 42. & p. 273.*

Stud. Every Member of the Christian Society,

ciety, is bound to profeſs the Goſpel; as hath been proved: and therefore a private man, though he hath not right, not having Commiſſion to exercife the Offices of a Prieſt, yet hath he a command to own the truth, when he is adjur'd to confeſs of what faith he is; not onely in relation to Chriſtianity in general, but alſo in relation to the Doctrines of Moment in it, which ſometimes the Chriſtian Powers do erre in. And every perſon will, with readineſs, make ſuch profeſſion, notwithſtanding the terrours of the Civil Sword, who hath ſworn in his heart and tongue Allegiance unto Chriſt; who is ſincere in his Religion; who valueth his ſoul more then his body; who is heartily perſwaded of a life or death eternal, the latter of which is

Our eleventh Subject.

Mr. *Hobbes.* The maintainance (*b*) of civil Society, depending on Juſtice, and Juſtice on the power of life and death, and other leſs rewards and puniſhments, reſiding in them that have the Soveraignty of the Common-wealth; it is impoſſible a Common-wealth ſhould ſtand, where any other then the Soveraign, hath a power of giving greater rewards then life; and of inflicting greater puniſhments then death. Now ſeeing eternal life is a greater reward then the life preſent; and eternal torment a greater puniſhment then the death of Nature; it is a thing worthy to be well conſidered, of all men that deſire (by obeying Authority) to avoid the calamities of confuſion and Civil War,

(*b*) Lev. p. 238. c. 38.

what is meant, in holy Scripture, by life eternal, and torment eternal.

Stud. What is then to be underſtood by eternal Torment, if we aright interpret the Holy Scripture?

Mr. *Hobbes.* I mean by theſe, ſuch torments (*a*) as are prepared for the wicked in *Gehenna*, or what place ſoever, [for a Seaſon]. Theſe have been (*b*) ſet forth by the Congregation of Gyants; the Lake of fire; utter darkneſs; *Gehenna*, and *Tophet*; which things are not ſpoken in a proper, but Metaphorical ſence. Now where, or whatſoever, theſe torments ſhall be, I (*c*) can find no where that any man ſhall live in torments everlaſtingly.

a Lev. p. 345.

b Leviath. p. 242, 243

c Lev. p. 345. Sect. 1

Stud. In St. *Matthew* (*d*) the ſame Greek word, in the ſame ſentence, is uſed in ſetting forth as well the happineſs of the Righteous, as the puniſhment of the Wicked; which therefore is to be conſtrued as endleſs as the joy of the Pious, to the bleſſedneſs of whom the moſt daring Origeniſt hath not affixed a period.

d St. Mat. 25 *laſt.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* I confeſs the torments to be eternal; but I am of opinion that the ſame perſons do not eternally feel them. The Fire (*e*) or torment prepared for the wicked in *Gehenna*, *Tophet*, or in what place ſoever, may continue for ever; and there may never want wicked men

e Lev. p. 345. Sect. *laſt.*

men to be tormented in them; though not every, nor any one eternally. The Fire (*f*) prepared for the wicked, is an everlaſting fire: that is to ſay, the eſtate wherein no man can be without torture, both of body and minde, after the Reſurrection, ſhall endure for ever; and in that ſence the fire ſhall be unquenchable, and the torments everlaſting: but it cannot thence be inferred, that he who ſhall be caſt into that fire, or be tormented with thoſe torments, ſhall endure, and reſiſt them ſo, as to be eternally burnt and tortured, and yet never be deſtroyed, nor dye.

f Lev. p. 245. c. 38.

Stud. You have by this means, ſo very much allayed the heat of the everlaſting burnings (ſo far as it can be done by confidence in opinion) that they are rendred almoſt as tolerable as a death by fire on earth. For the Epithet Everlaſting, thus interpreted, cannot mightily affright a ſingle perſon from evil manners, who conſiders that the Flame, how long ſoever it be continued in it ſelf, ſhall ſcorch him but for a ſeaſon. But God in holy Scripture threatneth every man with perpetual miſery; and where (*g*) it ſaith that the fire ſhall not be quenched, it ſaith alſo, not that *The worm*, but *their worm*, or remorſe of conſcience, dyeth not. Our Saviour alſo taught us (*h*) to make our Peace with God in this eſtate of Probation; before we were hal'd to Priſon; where every one that cannot pay his debts to that Supreme Lord (towards whom our obligations can ſcarce be cancelled in that ſtate, where we are depriv'd of

g S. Mark 9. 44.

h S. Matt. 5. 25, 26.

means, neglected by us in this life) shall be chain'd to eternal Bondage. St. *John* also
i Rev. 20. 10. saith, (*i*) that the Beast and the false Prophet shall be tormented in the Lake of fire and brimstone, day and night, for ever and ever. The Fewel, it seems, shall be as eternal as the Flame.

k Lev. p. 345. Mr. *Hobbes*. It seemeth (*k*) hard, to say, that God who is the Father of Mercies, that doth, in Heaven and Earth, all that he will; that hath the hearts of all men in his disposing; that worketh in men both to do and to will; and without whose free gift a man hath neither inclination to good, nor repentance of evil, should punish mens transgressions without any end of time, and with all the extremity of torture, that men can imagine, and more.

Stud. God hath so given such gifts to all, whom he will severely account with, that they are left without apology. And he will not seem an hard Master, if we have as due a regard to his Majesty and Goodness, both abused by us; and to our own means, and wilful refusal of the better part, whilst he hath set before us life and death; as we are wont to have to our own flesh and bloud; seeing nothing burneth in Hell (as St. *Bernard* noted) besides the proper will of man.

But why to you of all men should this seem hard? For you believe that the irresistible power of God, as such, doth justifie all things; and

and (*a*) that the right of afflicting men at his pleaſure, belongeth naturally to God Almighty; not as Creator and gratious; but as omnipotent.

(*a*) *Lev. p.* 187.

This irreſiſtible Power is urged by you, where it ſerveth your Hypotheſis; and where it yeildeth no advantage to your Cauſe, there you will have Mercy to ſucceed in its place. And this may be, more particularly obſerved, in a Section of your Book *De Cive* (*b*). To the ſixth Law of Nature (ſaith that Book) which teacheth that puniſhments reſpect the future, belong all thoſe places of Holy Writ, which enjoyn the ſhewing of Mercy; ſuch as are (*Matt.* 5.7.) *Bleſſed are the merciful: for they ſhall obtain mercy.* Lev. 19.18. *Thou ſhalt not avenge nor bear any grudge againſt the children of thy people.* Now there are who think this Law ſo far from being confirmed, that they imagine it invalidated by the Scriptures: becauſe there remaineth to the wicked eternal puniſhment after death, where there is no place either for amendment or example. Some reſolve this objection, by ſaying, that God, who is under no obligation, referreth all things to his own Glory; but that it is not lawful for man ſo to do: as if God would ſeek his glory, that is to ſay, pleaſe himſelf in the death of a ſinner. It is more rightly anſwer'd, that the inſtitution of eternal puniſhment was before ſin, and reſpected this onely, that men might, for the future, be afraid of ſinning.

(*b*) De Cive c. 4 p. 69. Sect. 9.

It is, from this place, to be obſerved, that you once conſtrued the phraſes of Scripture, wherein it ſpeaketh of eternal torments, with

relation to the persons, and not the mere state of torture; as also that you here advance not power, but plead for Mercy; and lastly, that you abuse the veracity of God, by supposing him to scare the children of men, with such bug-bear threatnings, as shall never, upon their most enormous delinquencie, be put in execution.

But in what horrid place, and of what confounding quality, are the future torments, if they be not, to single persons eternal? for I cannot but imagine that they are extreamly bitter, if they be but short. What then seemeth to you to be the place and state of the damned?

Mr. *Hobbes.* Gods enemies, and their torments after Judgement (*c*), appear by the Scripture to have their place on earth. And there the Reprobate (*d*) shall be in the estate, that *Adam*, and his Posterity were in after the sin committed; saving that God promised a Redeemer to *Adam*, and such of his seed as should trust in him, and repent; but not to them that should dye in their sins as do the Reprobate. And further —— the wicked being left in the estate, they were in after *Adams* sin, may at the Resurrection live as they did, marry, and give in marriage, and have gross and corruptible bodies, as all mankinde now have; and consequently, may engender perpetually, after the Resurrection as they did before.

c Lev. p. 242.

d Lev. p. 345, 346.

Stud. If all the wicked shall (as you acknowledge

acknowledge [*a*]), be together raised up; and put into Hell on earth; if also their condition shall be such as to admit of Generation, eating and drinking (the provisions for which require wide spaces upon earth, not at all possessed by the bodies of men) and there be also required room (as you assert) for the followers of Christs it will trie the utmost of your Mathematick-skill, to finde place sufficient, for the bodies of all that have already lived, or shall live before the Universal Judgment. Some of no mean degree amongst the Learned (*b*) have, by probable Rules, computed the number of men before the Floud (who begat Sons and Daughters at a very great age); and have found it to exceed much more then a thousand millions: insomuch, that the Floud may seem to have been almost as necessary in relation unto the numbers of people, as to the increase of their iniquities. And they observe how, in less then four hundred years after the Floud, there were Armies (*c*) in the Eastern Countries, sufficient to leave nothing rising there besides the Sun. If therefore *Tophet* be on earth, let it not any more be taken up, as a Proverb, by us, That *Hell* cannot be satisfi'd, seeing it will be glutted with half the people for whom it is prepared.

[*a*] *Ler. p.* 244.

[*b*] *See Dr. B's Pseud. Epid. p.* 374. *&c.*

[*c*] *Of* Ninus *against the* Bactrians *consisting of* 700000 *Foot*, 200000 *Horse*, 10500 *Chariots*. *Of* Semiramis *against the* Indians, *of* 1300000 *Foot*, 500000 *Horse*, 100000 *Chariots*: *Of* Staurobates *against her, consisting of a greater number.*

But, methinks, if that be, in truth, the estate of the Reprobate, which you have described; the literal *Hinnom* may seem to have been overspread with greater horror, then

the myſtical ſhall be; and the unrighteous may dance and leap with joy in their very chains of darkneſs; ſeeing they neither pinch extreamly at the preſent, nor ſhall be everlaſting: there is nothing more Divine to voluptuous men, then to eat, and drink, and to exonerate nature, and to be immortal in their off-ſpring.

Mr. *Hobbes.* You are too haſty in your reflexions: you miſtake that for the full deſcription of Hell, which I deſign'd for the eaſier part of it. I therefore tell you further, that they (c) ſhall be puniſhed with grief, and diſcontent of mind, from the ſight of that eternal felicitie in others, which they themſelves, through their own incredulity, and diſobedience, have loſt. And becauſe ſuch felicity in others is not ſenſible but by compariſon with their own actual miſeries; it followeth that they are to ſuffer ſuch bodily pains and calamities, as are incident to thoſe, who not only live under evil and cruel Governours, but have alſo for Enemy, the eternal King of the Saints, God Almighty.

c Lev. p. 244.

Stud. But ſhall not there be Devils let looſe upon thoſe perſons who have bin ſeduced by them from obedience to God! ſhall not they be deliver'd over to the Tormentors, who have not diſcharged their obligations towards him, and have ſuch outward ſcourges ſuperadded to the laſh of remorſe within?

Mr. *Hobbes.* For (d) the Tormentors, we have

d Leviath. p. 244. ſect. 1. See Lev. ſ. 213.

have their nature and properties, exactly and properly, delivered by the names of the Enemy, or Satan; the Accuser, or *Diabolus*; the Destroyer, or *Abaddon*: which significant names, *Satan*, *Devil*, *Abaddon*, set not forth to us any individual Person, as proper Names use to doe; but only an Office or Quality; and are therefore Appellatives. —— Gods Kingdome was in *Palestine*; and the Nations round about were the Kingdomes of the Enemy; and consequently by *Satan*, is meant any earthly Enemy of the Church. [You are therefore mistaken in the notion of Tormentors. Now that which completeth the misery of the damned is, that they shall dye again.]

Stud. That which you make the top of their calamitie, is to be reckoned as a privileg, because it puts an end to their torment together with their being; the continuance of which cannot make recompence for that misery with which in the real Hell, it will be oppressed: but whence is it proved, by you, that the last pain of the damned is such destruction?

Mr. *Hobbes.* I learn, from the Scripture *(a)* that amongst bodily pains, is to be reckoned also to every one of the wicked, a second death: for though the Scripture be clear for an universal Resurrection; yet we do not read, that to any of the Reprobate is promised an eternal life. [I know you will now salve your self by saying *(b)*] that by the second and everlasting death, is meant a second, and everlasting life, but

a Lev. p. 244. See p. 243.

b Lev. p. 332.

but in torments; a Figure never used but in this very case.

Stud. The Figure in which we speak, whilest we express a great calamitie by *death*, is of common use, in relation to the incommodities of this present life: for nothing is more usual then to say, that to live is to be well. St. *Paul* with reference to his many troubles, said he dyed daily. And *Grotius*, somwhere (c) expoundeth νεκροὶ by such, *quibus vita haud vitalis.* In *Sophocles*, you might have read these words;

c Grotius in Apoc. 14-13.

—— οὐ τίθημ' ἐγὼ
Ξῆν τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ ἔμψυχον ἡγοῦμαι νεκρόν.

That this, also, is the true meaning of the second death, appeareth to those who are aware that the phrase was borrowed by St. *John*, from the Hebrew-Doctors, with whom it was, and is, most frequent, to call the torments of Hell by that very name. Wherefore those words of David (d)! *He seeth that wise men die*, are thus Paraphrased by the *Caldee* Paraphrast: *He shall see wicked wise men, who die the second death, and are adjudged to Hell.*

d Psal. 49. 11.

Having now attended to your Opinion concerning the Place and Estate of the damned; methinks, it begetteth, in me, as feeble belief, as the Fables of *Charon*, and the River *Styx*, and the black *Frogs* therein, were wont to do in *Juvenal*'s daies, amongst the *Romans*; whose very children, (he saies) unless they were so young as not to pay for their Bath, were apt to scoffe at such improbable stories.

But let us now understand (in order to the dispatch of our *Twelfth*

what, more successful doctrine you can deliver, concerning the felicities of the just. He that cannot paint a Devil well, is not likelie to shew masterie in the painting of an holy Angel: but whatsoever your description be of eternal life, I am ready to fix my eye upon it; and if I espie reason, to approve it.

Mr. *Hobbes.* In delivering my opinion concerning the future state, I will begin by telling you, that, (*e*) the Soul of man is not in its own nature eternal, or a living creature independent on the body; and that no meer man is immortal, otherwise then by the resurrection in the last day, except *Enoch* and *Elias*. —— But (*f*) though there be no natural immortalitie of the Soul; yet there is life eternal, which the Elect shall enjoy by grace.

(*e*) Lev. p. 241.

(*f*) Lev p. 344.

Stud. It hath bin, alreadie, proved, that there is, in man, a spiritual substance which imagineth, remembreth, reasoneth; and that therefore naturally it endurethafter the dissolution of that body from which it is, by such notorious marks, distinguish'd: neither doth it slumber, 'till the sounding of the last Trump, at the general resurrection. It is true, that without the assistance of Revelation we cannot, well understand that our withered bodies shall spring out of the dust: and therefore, with reference to the resurrection, the ancient *Jews*, in their Forms of Benediction (*a*) celebrated the power of God above the ordinary Laws of Nature: and whatever

(*a*) Pocock. in not. in Dod. Moyl. p. 149.

ever hopes the Heathens may have, they cannot have firm assurance, that their Souls shall be permitted to enjoy that duration which they are, by nature capable of; or that, if they shall be permitted to survive their bodies, they shall have a great, or endless, happiness. For when they consider that there is God, and that, how virtuous soever they have bin, yet, their own consciences bearing witness, they have, too often, transgressed his Laws; they may be justly suspicious either of annihilation, or at best, of a low degree of felicitie: and this suspition will be encreased if, with you, they gaze at his irresistible power, and look not, with hope, upon his *Philanthropie*: and therefore such salvation, as signifieth the advancement of the Soul of man to the utmost height of blessedness, is not of Nature or humane merit, but of grace; and an effect of the merits of our Lord, who having overcome death, did open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers. But yet of this bounty we, in some measure, partake, if we dye as Christians, so soon as ever we have lay'd down this burthen of the flesh: and of this we are assured by Revelation; especially, by that in the New Testament: therein we read, that our Saviour promised to the repenting Thief, that very day, a place in *Paradise*, that is, in some Region of happy Souls; which the Jews were wont to call *Paradise*, or the Garden of pleasure. That, besides the bodily life, there is a Soul in man which cannot be touched by the sword, or utmost violence of our Enemies. That St. *Stephen*, in the very Article of death, commend-

ed

ed his Spirit into the hands of Christ, beseeching the same Jesus to receive it. That the dead, who dye in the Lord, are from henceforth, or (*b*) immediately in an happy estate. Neither can we, with tolerable sense, expound the Article of Christs descending into Hell, or into *Hades*, that is, the state of the dead; as also his preaching to Spirits in prison; unless we suppose him to have had an immaterial Soul; whereby his Spirit might be in the state of separate Spirits, as well as his body was in the state of dead bodies, their corruption excepted: for to mean All of the body, is to say in effect, twice over, that he was dead and buried; and so to commit Tautology in the most compendious systeme of the Christian Faith. Neither must we forget the wish of St. *Paul*, who desired to be dissolved that he might be with Christ; esteeming that far better for his own Person, though his continuance in the world was of more advantage to the Christian church. Now it cannot but be imagined that S. *Paul* exspected, so soon as ever he had quitted this earthly Tabernacle, to be received by Christ, into the mansions prepared above: for seeing his inclinations were so poised betwixt the thoughts of the benefit of the Church, and the delay of his consummate happiness, that he knew not which way to turn the scale; there is no doubt but he would have preferred the advantage of the Church, for which he would gladly spend, and be spent, before such an Estate, wherein, for more then sixteen hundred years, he should not so much as think of Christ,

b Rev. 14. 13. ἀπάρτι or ἀπ' ἄρτι. *jam nunc.* Grot. *in loc.*

or

or his holy Gospel, but be as if he had never bin.

c Lev. p. 343. 344. Mr. *Hobbes*. [There are other places, perhaps more pertinent, to which I will return an answer.] And first, (c) there are the words of *Solomon* (Ecclesiastes 12. 7.) *Then shall the dust return to dust, as it was, and the Spirit shall return to God that gave it:* which may bear well enough (if there be no other Text directly against it) this interpretation, that God only knows, (but man, not) what becomes of a mans Spirit, when he expireth: and the same *Solomon*, in the same book, (*Chap.* 3. *v.*20,21.) delivereth the same sentence in the sense I have given it: his words are, *All go* (man and beast) *to the same place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again: who knoweth that the Spirit of man goeth upward, and that the Spirit of the beast goeth downward to the earth?* that is, none knows but God: nor is it an unusual phrase to say of things we understand not, God knows what, and God knows where. ——But, what interpretation shall we give, besides the literal sense of the words of *Solomon*, Eccles. 3. 19. *That which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts, even one thing befalleth them: as the one dyeth, so doth the other; yea, they have all one breath* (one Spirit) *so that a man hath no preheminence above a beast, for all is vanity.* By the litteral sense here is no natural immortalitie of the Soul.

Stud. You would here impose upon me, by con-

confounding the ſenſe of thoſe ſeveral verſes, which are to be interpreted apart from each other. And that we may aright conceive the meaning of them (and not ſay only, though perhaps with reaſon we may do it, I'm ſure with Authority (*a*) that *Solomon* here and in other places doth perſonate the Atheiſt;) it is fit, that we obſerve how the Preacher, in this book, ſets forth the beginning, progreſs, and ripeneſs of his diſquiſition, concerning the happineſs of man. Wherefore in the begining of his enquiry, he ſetteth down his raw apprehenſions: and he relateth, in the firſt and ſecond Chapters, how he, once, thought folly equal with wiſdom, and that there was nothing better then to eat and drink; and what adventures and trials he made, towards the better underſtanding of what was good for the ſons of men: and in this third Chapter, he declareth how full of myſtery he found the workes of God (*v.* 11.) and how little was manifeſt, eſpecially to ſenſual men, of the future ſtate: but in the eleventh and twelfth Chapters, wherein he declareth his advanced judgement, and calleth men off from the world, to the thoughts of the day of account, and to the early remembrance of their Creator; to the fear of God, and the obſervance of his commands; he layeth it down as a poſitive doctrine (a doctrine apt to promote ſuch obſervance, fear, and remembrance) which at firſt was delivered, by him, as a probleme, or as the miſtake of worldly men, that when the wheel ſhall be broken at the Ciſtern, and the circle of our blood utterly

(*a*) Raimund Pug. Fid. p. 155.

diſturbed

disturbed, *then the dust shall return to the earth as it was; and the Spirit shall return to God who gave it.*

But if the Spirit be the breath and life, and not an immaterial substance, why make you it so hard to know what becomes of it; so that only God can understand it? for might we not say, that the machine of the body is dissolved, the breath vanisheth in the soft air, the motion is gone from the carcasse into ambient bodies? we might then, with equal admiration say of a Clock broken all to peices, and in rest; God knoweth what is become of it; for, in both instances, there is only a dissolution of the contexture of the parts, and the motion, convey'd to other portions of neighbouring matter.

Why, also, do you vary from the translation of the Hebrew copy, in Chap. 3. v. 21. for instead of, *Who knoweth the spirit of man that is ascending, and the Spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth?* You have thus rendred the words; *Who knoweth that the spirit of man goeth upward?* for there is great difference betwixt this saying, Who knoweth that Mr. *Hobbes* is a Mathematician? and this, Who knoweth Mr. *Hobbes*, who is a Mathematician? The former disposition of *Solomon*'s words supposeth a Spirit, and the ascent of it, and withall, our ignorance of the nature of the Soul: the latter leaveth it doubtful whether the Spirit ascendeth or not. It is well (though I believe you knew it not your self) that the Seventie Interpreters (*a*) are, a little, on your side.

(*a*) Lxx. εἰ ἀναβαίνει, &c.

Mr,

Mr. *Hobbes.* But what is, on your part, to be said (*b*) to those words of *Solomon* in Chap. 4. ver. 3. of *Ecclesiastes? Better is he that hath not yet been, then both they*; that is, then they that live or have lived; which if the Soul of all them that have lived, were immortal, were a hard saying; for then to have an immortal Soul, were worse then to have no Soul at all. *b* Lev. p. 344.

Stud. To this, the easie truth is to be replyed, that the wise man preferreth a condition of not being (if we suppose him speaking in his own Person) before a life of misery: and doubtless it is better to have no Soul, then to have a Soul immortal, together with immortal grief: and the saying is common amongst Divines, that it had bin better for *Dives* to have had no tongue, then to have bin possessed of it, meerly as a subject, for the fury of the infernal flames to prey upon: and I think also, it is the natural sense of mankind. Wherefore though *Job* was a man of great fortitude of spirit, and one who feared, by impatience, to offend God; Yet when his calamities, as so many waves in thick succession, were ready to over-whelme him, he began to curse the day of his Nativitie.

Mr. *Hobbes.* There is yet another place in the book of *Ecclesiastes*, which confirmeth my opinion of the state of the dead. It is said, (*c*) in Chap. 9. ver. 5. *That the living know they shall dye, but the dead know not any thing*; that is, naturally, and before the resurrection of the body. *c* Lev. p. 344.

Stud. For answer to this citation, I refer you to *Diodati*, whose notes you have no reason to despise, seeing you have submitted the declaration of your judgement (*d*) to the Annotations of the Assembly, who pleased to transcribe so very many places out of the aforesaid Authour: observe therefore the context, and his interpretation, which I may represent to you in this Paraphrase. *Ver.* 3. "By reason "of this indifferency of events (mentioned by "*Solomon*, in the beginning of the Chapter) "worldly men dally with, 'till they die in "their sins. (*Ver.* 4.) For whilst life doth last, "the gate of hope, and repentance, is open; "though men make not use of this opportu-"nity in order to their salvation. For a living "dogg, that is to say, a great sinner alive, is hap-"pier whilst God grants to him life, and op-"portunitie of conversion; then a lesser sin-"ner (compared to a Lyon, which is a more "noble, and not so unclean a beast as a dogg) "who dyeth in his impenitencie, and so is past "all remedy. (*Ver.* 5. For the living know they "shall die, and through the fear of death, may "be induced to repentance, whilst there is space "for it: but the dead know not any thing; not "in this sense, that their souls do loose all "knowledge, conscience, or remembrance; "but in this, because it availeth them nothing "to Salvation; and they understand not now "the things that belong to their peace, for "they are, by the absence of opportunity, quite "hidden from their eyes: neither have they

(*d*) Lev. p. 238.

any

"any more a reward, ſet down for virtue,
"whilſt a man liveth in this world, which is
"the place appointed for us to labour, and run
"our race in: for the memory of them is for-
"gotten; God hath for ever caſt them off, ac-
"cording to that of *David* (a) —— Like the [a] Pſal. 88. 5.
"ſlain that lye in the grave, whom thou re-
"membreſt no more: and they are cut off from
"thy hand. And this ſenſe of the place is con-
firmed by the tenth verſe, where *Solomon* preſ-
ſeth men to a ſpeedie exerciſe of religion, in
theſe words: *Whatſoever thy hand findeth to do,
do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor de-
vice, nor knowledg, nor wiſdom in the grave whi-
ther thou goeſt.*

Mr. *Hobbes.* What anſwer have you to the
words of *Job*, (a) Chap. 14. ver. 7. *There* [b] Lev. p.
is hope of a tree, if it be caſt down: though the root 241.
*thereof wax old, and the ſtock thereof dye in the
ground, yet when it ſenteth the water, it will bud,
and bring forth boughs like a plant: but man dyeth
and waſteth away, yea, man giveth up the ghoſt,
and where is he?* And (ver. 12.) *man lyeth down,
& riſeth not till the heavens be no more.* But when
is it, that the heavens ſhall be no more? S. *Peter*
tells us that *it is at the general reſurrection.*

Stud. It hath been thought by ſome, a ſuf-
ficient anſwer to this place, to underſtand it of
entire man, as he conſiſteth of ſoul and body;
ſeeing man is not, man ariſeth not, 'though the
ſoul exiſteth and aſcendeth, before the con-
ſummate eſtate of both, in the great day of the

Messiah. I know, also, that the Jews, (*c*) consider *Job* as a Gentile, who had no assurance of a future state, and that he speaketh, in the seventh Chapter, as much against the resurrection of the body, as the immortalitie of the soul. *As the cloud* (saith *Job*) *is consumed and vanisheth away; so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more.* And there are many who expound the letter (in the 19 *Chap.* and 25, 26. *verses*) of the restitution of *Jobs* body, tormented with worms, to soundnes of health, and of the blessings descending upon him, in his latter daies, even to the eclipsing the glories of his first posteritie.

(*c*) *Truth springing out of the Earth*, p. 209. See Job 7. 9, 10.

Mr. *Hobbes.* What need is there of answer upon answer in the present case? for this doctrine of the natural immortalitie of the soul, which you so eagerly conted for, is (*d*) unnecessary to the Christian faith. For supposing that when a man dies, there remaineth nothing of him but his carcass; cannot God that raised inanimated dust and clay into a living creature by his word, as easily raise a dead carcass to life again, and continue him alive for ever, or make him dye again, by another word?

(*d*) *Lev.* p. 339.

Stud. If you attempt, thus, to explain the resurrection of entire man, you will be pressed with such a weighty inconvenience, as cannot, by the utmost strength of your wit, be ever sustained. For if man be not raised up by a reunion of his immaterial soul to the main *Stamina* of such a body as he, somtimes, had; but meerly

meerly by the framing again, and moving, of ſuch matter as he is ſuppoſed to have wholly conſiſted of, and by the help of which he hath done worthy, or ſhameful acts; then either the ſame man, who obeyed or tranſgreſſed, is not raiſed up to an eſtate of reward or puniſhment; or elſe he is raiſed with all the parts of matter which conduced to action, and appertained to him, almoſt from the cradle, to the grave, and is, therefore, in the laſt day, of ſuch dimenſions, that he may not only equal the antient Gyants of which we read in ſtory, but likewiſe come nigh the bulk of thoſe very mountains which they are ſaid to have heaped up in defiance of Heaven.

Mr. *Hobbes.* Well; whatſoever the eſſence of man is, or whenſoever any part of him is ſuppoſed to be happy; it is moſt probable, that, at the laſt day, the place of heaven, ſhall be on earth. The (*a*) kingdom of God in the writings of Divines, and ſpecially in Sermons, and treatiſes of devotion, is taken moſt commonly for eternal felicity, after this life, in the higheſt heaven, which they alſo call the kingdom of glory; and ſomtimes for (the earneſt of that felicity) ſanctification, which they term the kingdome of grace; but never for the Monarchy, that is to ſay, the Soveraign power of God over any ſubjects acquired by their own conſent, which is the proper ſignification of Kingdom. To the contrary, I finde the Kingdom of God to ſignifie, in moſt places of Scripture, a Kingdom properly ſo named, conſtituted by the

(*a*) Lev. c. 35. *p.* 216.

votes of the people of *Israel* in peculiar manner; wherein they chose God for their King by Covenant made with him, upon Gods promising them the possession of the land of *Canaan* —— Now the Throne(*b*) of this our King is in Heaven, without any necessity evident in Scripture, that man shall ascend to his happiness any higher then Gods footstool the earth.

b Lev. p. 240. *See more to this purpose, in this page.*

Stud. There is no need of the consent of men, in the right notion, of the Kingdom of God; for the Lord is King, be the people never so unquiet. Also, there is nothing more frequent, in the New Testament, then the notion of Gods Kingdom of Grace in the dispensation of the Gospel; and of glory, in the highest Heavens. And for the latter, we pray in the second petition of that Form which our Lord taught us; and the former we acknowledge in the Doxologie. The holy *Baptist*, being the fore-runner of the Christ, preached unto the Jews (who though they justifi'd themselves at present by the works of the Law, yet held repentance necessary to the reception of the *Messiah*) the Doctrine of *Penance*; adding this reason, because *the kingdom of heaven was at hand*: and this had been an improper Doctrine, if the *Messiah*, as you dream, was not to have a Kingdom, till after more then sixteen hundred years. Our Saviour, therefore, when he preached (as his Fore-runner had done) that Doctrine of Repentance; he us'd not the same phrase, *Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand*; but he said, (*c*) *Repent, and believe the Gospel*

c Matt. 4. 17. *See* Matt. 12. 28.

Goſpel, that is, forſake ſin, and enter into the Kingdom of the *Meſſiah*, by Grace. Our Lord, alſo (in the twelfth Chapter of St. *Matthew*) proveth, by his great power over *Satan* and the Kingdom of darkneſs, that the Kingdom of the *Meſſiah*, was then come. And he declared (*d*) That Baptiſm was a Sacrament of entrance and admiſſion into the Kingdom of the Goſpel. And he (*e*) receiv'd the *Hoſannah*'s of the people, who ſaluted him as that King of *Iſrael*, who came unto them in the name of the Lord. And when he was asked (*f*) by the *Phariſees*, when the Kingdom of God ſhould come, he anſwered; *The Kingdom of God is within you*; that is, it is already come, it is (*g*) amongſt you. The further manifeſtation of his Kingdom, he foretold, in propheſying of his coming to take vengeance on the bloudy Jews, by his ſcourges, the *Romans*, in the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*: the Hiſtory of which, as it ſtandeth in *Joſephus*, if it be duly compared with the predictions of our Lord, is ſufficient to ſtop the wideſt mouth of profaneneſs; and to hold up a powerful light againſt the dim Ey-balls of the moſt forſaken Atheiſts. To this the words of St. *Mark* have relation, in the ninth Chapter, and firſt Verſe: *Verily I ſay unto you, that there be ſome of them that ſtand here, which ſhall not taſte of death, till they have ſeen the kingdom of God come with power.*

d St. John 3 5.

e Joh. 12. 13.

f Luk. 17. 20, 21.

g Ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν, Luk. 1. 28. *Inter Meſſier.*

Mr. *Hobbes*. Thoſe words (alledged [*h*] by *Beza* long ago) if taken grammatically, make it certain

h Lev. p. 341, 342.

tain, that either ſome of thoſe men that ſtood by Chriſt at that time, are yet alive; or elſe that the Kingdom of God muſt be now in this preſent world. —— But yet if this Kingdom were to come at the Reſurrection of Chriſt, why is it ſaid, Some of them, rather then All? for they all lived till after Chriſt was riſen.

Stud. Chriſt, at his Reſurrection, had vindicated to himſelf, by way of conqueſt over Death and Hell, this ſpiritual Kingdom; but the manifeſtation of it, in power, was diſplayed in the deſolation of the City of *Jeruſalem*. And becauſe (for inſtance) St. *John* liv'd, to ſee the triumph of Chriſt, over his bloud-thirſty Enemies, though all the Apoſtles did not; there was, therefore, reaſon for ſaying, *Some of them*, rather then, *All*.

[a] Lev. p. 342. Mr. *Hobbes*. If (*a*) it be lawful to conjecture at the meaning of the words, by that which immediately follows, both here, and in St. *Luke*, where the ſame is again repeated, it is not unprobable, to ſay they have relation to the Transfiguration, which is deſcribed in the Verſes immediately following. —— And ſo the promiſe of Chriſt was accompliſhed by way of *Viſion*.

Stud. You are to look backward and not forward: for the words do manifeſtly relate to thoſe of the eighth Chapter, where our Saviour had commanded the embracers of his Goſpel to take up the Croſs; and promiſed that, by their conſtancie in their Chriſtian Profeſſion;

they

they ſhould ſave their lives; whilſt, others, who would endeavour to preſerve life by denying the perſecuted faith, ſhould be deſtroyed: and ſo it came to paſs, when *Gallus*, even againſt the reaſon of State, did raiſe the Siege before *Jeruſalem*; the Chriſtians and convert-Jews, eſcapeing, whilſt a door was open, unto the Mountains, and into the City *Pella*; and not remaining 'till *Titus*, ſome moneths after, renewed the Siege. After this exhortation to conſtancie, and promiſe of deliverance, our Saviour, threatned that he would be aſhamed of ſuch, who ſhould refuſe to confeſs him before men, at his coming, in the glory of his Father, with his holy Angels: which coming with Angels, and open rejection of cowardly ſpirits, (importing their preſent claim, and his refuſal) agreeth not to his Transfiguration, which was tranſacted in ſecret with ſome of the Diſciples, and the apparition of *Moſes* and *Elias*.—— There is therefore reaſon for Divines, to inſiſt upon a kingdome of Chriſt, alreadie come, a kingdom of the Goſpel: neither want they reaſon on their ſide, when they affirm, that the kingdom of glory is in the higheſt Heavens; and not on earth: which if men riſe the ſame they were when they acted in the preſent world (retaining all their parts, howſoever new-moulded,) then according to your Hypotheſis, which conceiveth man to be wholly material, the whole earth will be little enough to give the Bleſſed ſpace, wherein to move with pleaſure; and we ſhall be as much in the dark for the place of the damned, as the place it ſelf is ſaid to be.

Our

Our bleſſed Saviour hath aſſur'd us, that we ſhall, in the Reſurrection, be like the Angels. And St. *Paul* hath, alſo, informed Chriſtians, that they ſhall be indued with Cœleſtial Bodies, when they have put off theſe earthly Sepulchres in which their nobler mindes lay entombed; and that this body of fleſh and bloud (for of that, is his whole diſcourſe (*) and not of any moral body, of ſin and corruption) ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God. And from hence *Athenagoras* (*b*) hath been taught to ſay, that in the Reſurrection, we ſhall not be as fleſh, though we bear fleſh about us. Now this Angelical, Cœleſtial Body, ſeemeth very unagreeable to the condition of Inhabitants upon earth: neither had innocent *Adam* ſuch a body in Paradiſe. And if is, alſo, to be noted, that the Bleſſed cannot, by any means enjoy ſuch Cœleſtial Bodies, according to the principles by you delivered; and of this I, above, have given ſome intimation. For if man be onely a piece of well-diſpoſed matter, and is devoyd of an immaterial ſoul, upon the permanent oneneſs of which dependeth, chiefly, his individuation, he is no more the ſame perſon upon ſo great an alteration made in the contexture of the body, then a ſpire of Graſs is the ſame with part of the fleſh of an Ox, into which after digeſtion, it is transform'd.

But why doth it ſeem to you incredible, that holy men ſhall be caught up with *Enoch*, and *Elias*, and St. *Paul*, and enjoy their happineſs in Heavenly Regions, when there are ſo many places of Scripture which look that way?

Our

* St. Hieron. *in* Eſai. *c.*24. *p.*102. *Caro & ſanguis reg. Dei non poſſidebunt. Non quod, ſecundum haereticos, diſpereat natura corporum, ſed quod corruptivum hoc induat incorruptionem, &c.*

b Athenag. *p* 35.

Our bleſſed Lord (*a*) adminiſtreth comfort to ſuch as bear his Croſs, by telling them that their reward is great in Heaven. And he adviſeth (*b*) all his followers, to lay up for themſelves treaſures, not on earth, but in the heavens, that their hearts may with the greater facility be lifted up, by Divine and Heavenly Meditation. And (*c*) he ſpake theſe words of conſolation to his Diſciples who began to be, moſt deeply concerned, at the thoughts of his departure: *Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe alſo in me. In my Fathers houſe are many manſions; if it were not ſo, I would have told you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto my ſelf, that where I am, there ye may be alſo.* This, then, was the Doctrine of Chriſt; as alſo of his Apoſtles. St. *Paul* delivereth this Doctrine with much confidence, ſaying (*d*), *We know, that if our earthly houſe of this tabernacle were diſſolved, we have a building of God, an houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.* And (*e*) he bleſſeth God for the faith of the *Coloſſians*; and for the hope which was laid up for them, in the Heavens. And he comforteth the *Theſſalonians* (*f*), after this manner: *The Lord himſelf ſhall deſcend from heaven with a ſhout, with the voice of the Arch-angel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe firſt: then we which are alive, and remain, ſhall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and ſo ſhall we ever be with the Lord.* The Author, alſo, of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews (*g*), ex-

(*a*) Matt. 5. 12.

(*b*) Matt. 6. 19, 20, 21. and Luke 12. 33.

(*c*) Joh. 14. 1, 2, 3.

(*d*) 2 Cor. 5. 1.

(*e*) Col. 1. 5.

(*f*) 1 Theſſ. 4. 16, 17.

g Heb. 10. 34. (g), extolleth the patience of the afflicted Converts, and likewiſe inſinuateth the great Reaſon which they had to take joyfully the ſpoiling of their earthly goods, becauſe they had in Heaven a better and enduring ſubſtance.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I have, with much patience, attended to your citations; there is reaſon that now you ſhould liſten to ſuch as on my ſide, may be produced. We finde (*b*) written in St. *John*, *That no man hath aſcended into heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the ſon of man that is in heaven* — yet Chriſt was then not in Heaven, but upon the earth. The like is ſaid of *David* (*Acts* 2.34.) where St. *Peter*, to prove the Aſcenſion of Chriſt, uſing the words of the *Pſalmiſt* (*i*), *Thou wilt not leave my ſoul in hell, nor ſuffer thine holy One to ſee corruption*, ſaith, they were ſpoken (not of *David*, but) of Chriſt; and to prove it, addeth this reaſon, For *David* is not aſcended into Heaven. But to this a man may eaſily anſwer, and ſay, that though their bodies were not to aſcend till the general day of Judgement, yet their ſouls were in Heaven, as ſoon as they were departed from their bodies; which alſo ſeemeth to be confirmed by the words of our Saviour (*k*) who proving the Reſurrection out of the words of *Moſes*, ſaith thus, *That the dead are raiſed*, even *Moſes* ſhewed, at the buſh, when he called the Lord, the God of *Abraham*, and the God of *Iſaac*, and the God of *Jacob*. For he is not a God of the dead, but of the living; for they all live to him. But if theſe words be to be un-

b Joh. 3. 13. Lev. p. 240, 241.

i Pſal. 16. 10.

k Luk. 20. 73, 38

understood onely of the immortality of the soul, they prove not at all that which our Saviour intended to prove, which was the Resurrection of the body, that is to say, the immortality of man. Therefore our Saviour meaneth that those Patriarchs were immortal; not by a property consequent to the Essence, and Nature of Mankinde; but by the Will of God, that was pleased of his meer Grace, to bestow eternal life upon the faithful. And though at that time the Patriarchs, and many other faithful men were dead, yet, as it is in the Text, *they lived to God*; that is, they were written in the Book of Life with them that were absolved of their sins, and ordained to life eternal at the Resurrection.

Stud. Our Lord design'd to prove a future state, against the Sadduces, who denyed, not onely the Resurrection of the body, but likewise the existence of Angel or Spirit: and the words ἀνάστασις or ἔγερσις, do not always imply the raising of the body; but, being used without the addition of flesh or body, do usually denote the future life, and the awakening, and advancing of the Soul; or the conserving or keeping of it alive; as God is said to have raised up *Pharaoh*, that is, to have kept him still alive (*a*). And whereas you suggest, that the Patriarchs were alive onely by destination; it is an exposition derived by you, from your Hypothesis, that man is wholly mortal, and not from the letter of the words, where Christ speaketh in the present, and not the future time; affirming that

a Vorst. in Rom. 9 17. Ἐξήγειρά σε. *Hoc est, feci ut restares, vel superesses. sec.* Hebr. *itaq; sensus est, Nolui te exscindere, sed potius reservare.*

that the Patriarchs live already, and not that they shall be awakened unto life, after many hundreds of years.

b Lev. p. 239. Mr. *Hobbes.* A second place is (*b*) that in St. *Paul* (1 *Cor.* 15.22.) *For as in* Adam *all dye, even so in Christ shall all be made alive* —— Now, if as in *Adam*, all dye, that is, have forfeited Paradise, and eternal life on earth; so in Christ all shall be made alive; then all men shall be made to live on earth; for else the comparison were not proper.

Stud. That *Adam*, if he had remained obedient, should have lived eternally upon earth, together with all the race of men to have been produced out of his loyns (to whom this earth would, at last, have denyed Elbow-room) is a conceit of yours which reason doth not favour. For the first man was of the earth earthy, he was sustained by corruptible food; he was design'd for propagation before his fall; which things seem to argue a mortal nature, and are, by our Saviour, excepted from the condition of those who shall enjoy eternal blessedness. And though it was said to him, that in eating the forbidden fruit he should dye the death; that argueth thenceforth a necessity of dying, and denyeth not a capableness of dying formerly: and though God Almighty could have sustain'd his mortal nature for ever upon earth, yet there is (as I think) no promise of it in Holy Writ: and whilst we consider the future estate of blessed men, described in Scripture; there is some

ſome reaſon for us to believe, that he ſhould have rather been tranſlated to an Heavenly Paradiſe, then to have dwelt, for ever, in the *Eden* below.

Neither was it the buſineſs of the Apoſtle, in this Text, to determine any thing of the place, but to ſet forth the priviledge of Believers, by the means of Chriſt, at the laſt day. The meaning of the Apoſtle, who ſpeaketh here of thoſe that are Chriſts, ſeems no other then this. As all who came from *Adam* were obnoxious to death, and could not, naturally, claim the priviledge of a Reſurrection to life eternal: So all who believe in the *Meſſiah* ſhall not rot for ever in the grave, but be raiſed up to everlaſting happineſs. To this ſenſe agree both *Grellius*, and *Vorſtius*, whom I, the rather, name to you, becauſe they were men of ſingularity in conceit, and ſuch as ſtepped out of the beaten Road of Divinity, which the Orthodox believe the trueſt and ſafeſt way. In the Paraphraſe of this compariſon, *All* of one kinde, is anſwered by *All* of the other kinde, and death by life: And therefore there is no impropriety in the compariſon, though, in other particulars, the things compared diſagree. The main ſcope of the Apoſtle, in ſetting forth the advantage of Believers at that day, by Chriſt, doth juſtifie the ſimilitude, though the place of life be not the ſame to all the Sons of *Adam* which was poſſeſſed by that Root of mankinde. *Parables* (ſaith *Salmeron*, who wrote of them) *are like to ſwords; the Hilts and Scabbards of them are variouſly wrought, but it is the Edge whereby they do execution.*

Mr.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Notwithſtanding what hath been talk'd, I ſtill maintain that (*c*) the Elect after the Reſurrection ſhall be reſtored to the eſtate, wherein *Adam* was before he had ſinned: [and that the place ſhall be on earth, and more particularly at and about *Jeruſalem*]. Concerning (*b*) the general ſalvation, becauſe it muſt be in the Kingdom of Heaven, there is great difficulty concerning the place. On one ſide, by Kingdom (which is an eſtate ordained by men for their perpetual ſecurity againſt Enemies, and want) it ſeemeth that this Salvation ſhall be on earth: for by Salvation is ſet forth unto us, a glorious reign of our King, by conqueſt; not a ſafety by eſcape: and therefore there, where we look for Salvation, we muſt look alſo for Triumph; and before triumph, for victory; and before victory, for battle: which cannot well be ſuppoſed, ſhall be in heaven —— and it is evident by Scripture, that Salvation ſhall be on earth, then, when God ſhall reign (at the coming again of Chriſt) in *Jeruſalem*; and from *Jeruſalem* ſhall proceed the Salvation of the Gentiles that ſhall be received into Gods Kingdom.

c Lev. p. 345.

b Lev. p. 246.

Stud. In this ſpeech of yours, there is a threefold error, eaſily confuted and broken in ſunder. Firſt, you ſay the Elect ſhall be in the eſtate of innocent *Adam*; and you would have compariſon anſwer compariſon, as face anſwereth face. Yet our Saviour ſaith, That *the elect ſhall neither eat, drink, nor marry*. Secondly, you ſuppoſe a War in the eſtate of the heaven

on

on earth; and after that victory: the former of which, is inconsistent with that uninterrupted peace which the Scripture ascribeth to that estate; and the latter is meant of Christ the Captain of our Salvation conquering death, in behalf of Believers, by dying, and arising again, and triumphing over death in ascending and reigning at Gods Right-hand. Wherefore St. *Paul* saith (*a*) *O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?* And, again, *Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.* Neither (in the third place) do you speak consistently with your self, when you mention *Jerusalem* as the Metropolis of Heaven. For blessedness being, by you, supposed the recovery of the estate lost in *Adam*, the chief seat of it ought, by you, to have been fixed in the Region of *Eden*; which, where it is, those Atheists who scoff at the story of *Adam*, may be instructed, both in relation to their knowledge and manners, by an obscure, but yet most learned (*b*) Geographer and Divine.

(*a*) 1 Cor. 15. 55, 56.

(*b*) *Mr. Carver of the situation of the terrestrial Paradise.*

Mr. *Hobbes*. Will you suffer me to proceed in proving that the future estate of Gods subjects shall be upon earth, & particularly at *Jerusalem*?

Stud. You shall not be unseasonably interrupted.

Mr. *Hobbes*. That it shall be on earth is proved from a third place (*c*), *Rev.* 2. 7. *To him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of Life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.* This was the Tree of *Adams* eternal life; but his life was to have been on earth.

(*c*) *Lev.* p. 239.

Stud. You here mistake (as many have done in attempting to unfold the *Revelation*) this Book of Mysteries which representeth, Allegorically, to our senses, the things in Heaven, by patterns on earth. There is a Paradise not upon earth; an entrance into which our Saviour promised to the relenting and believing Malefactor, that very day, upon the Cross. Besides, the meer letter of the Text fixeth the chief Seat of Heaven in *Eden*, not in *Jerusalem*.

Mr. *Hobbes.* To my opinion concerning the Heavenly *Jerusalem* on earth, seemeth (*d*) to agree that of the *Psalmist* (*Psal.* 133. 3.) *Upon Zion* God *commanded the blessing, even life for evermore:* for *Zion*, is in *Jerusalem*, upon earth.

d Lev. *It.*

Stud. This blessing is meant of temporal long life which God promised, so especially, to the obedient, in the Land of *Canaan*: neither cannot it (with reason) be interpreted of a life eternal; for *David* saith, in the last place, that God did there command a blessing. Besides, though *Zion* was at *Jerusalem*; yet *Hermon*, which is first named, was on the other side of *Jordan*, on the utmost part of the holy Land Eastward.

Mr. *Hobbes.* My opinion seemeth, again, to be confirmed (*a*) by St. *John*, (*Rev.* 21. 2.) where he saith, *I John saw the holy City, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.* And again, vers. 10. to the same effect; as if he should say, *The new Jerusalem, the paradise of God, at the coming again of Christ, should come down to Gods people from heaven, and not they go up to it from earth.*

a Lev. *p.* 239.

Stud.

Stud. Heaven is the *Jeruſalem* above, which the Patriarchs ſought (*b*) in contra-diſtinction to *Canaan* below: of this *Jeruſalem* above, St. *Paul* ſaith (*c*) that it is free that is, typed by *Sarah* the free-woman, and cannot but be free from Enemies ſeeing God is the King of it) and that it is the mother of us all; that is, the Goſpel came thence immediately by Chriſt, and not, as the law, by the mediation of an Angel. Our original, as Chriſtians, we owe to heaven, and thence are we nouriſhed and preſerved by the divine grace: and to the revelation of this *Jeruſalem* Chriſtians attain, by the preaching of the Goſpel, which is a diſpenſation of more clearneſs and comfort then the Law (*d*). And the new *Jeruſalem* deſcending is a type of Heaven in a glorious eſtate of the Chriſtian Church on earth; the commencement of which hath much puzled thoſe who have ſpent their ſtudies about the great *Milleniſm*. But this new *Jeruſalem* deſcended is not to be eſteemed the eſtate of juſt men made perfect, becauſe it is ſaid that the (*e*) Nations of them which are ſaved ſhall walk in the light of it: and alſo that after the thouſand years, wherein the Martyrs are thought to raign with Chriſt, in the new *Jeruſalem* below; the devil (*f*) ſhall be looſed and go out to deceive the Nations, and with them, as Enemies in battel array, to encompaſs the holy City: which things are improperly aſcribed to a ſtate of entire joy, in the life eternal, of the ſaved in the *Jeruſalem* above. If then as Mr. *Mede* affirmeth (*g*) and attempteth to prove) the new *Jeruſalem* Syncronizeth with the ſeventh Trumpet or Interval

b Heb. 11 10, to 16.

c Gal. 4. 25, 26.

d Heb. 1. 1, 2, to 2. 3.

e Rev. 21. 24.

f Rev. 20. 7, 8, 9.

g M. *Mede* in *Clav. Apoc.* par. 2. p. 534. Synch. 5.

terval from the destruction of the beast, and supposeth afterwards a looling of Satan, it cannot be understood of the highest heaven, or the consummate happiness of man.

Mr. *Hobbes.* [There are behind, divers places in the Prophets, in order to the evading of whose force, you will much perplex your understanding: and when I have once produced them, I shall then have done drawing, at my end, of this Saw of disputation.]

b Lev. p. 246, 247, *c.* 38.

How good soever (*b*) the Reason, before alleadged, may be, I will not trust to it, without very evident places of Scripture. The state of Salvation is described at large, *Isaiah* 33. ver. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. *Look upon Zion, the City of our solemnities; thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken. But there the glorious Lord will be unto us a place of broad Rivers and streams, wherein shall goe no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby. For the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King, he will save us. Thy tacklings are loosed; they could not well strengthen their mast, they could not spread the sail: then is the prey of a great spoil divided, the lame take the prey, and the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick; the people that shall dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity.* In which words we have the place from whence salvation is to proceed, *Jerusalem*, a habitation; the eternity of it, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down, &c. the Saviour of

of it, the Lord, their Judge, their Law-giver, their King, he will save us; the salvation, the Lord shall be to them as a broad moate of swift waters, &c. The condition of their enemies, their tacklings are loose; their masts weak, the lame shall take the spoyl of them. The condition of the saved, the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick: and lastly, all this comprehended in forgivenesse of sin; the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity. By which it is evident that Salvation (as I said) shall be on earth, then, when God shall reign (at the coming again of Christ) in *Jerusalem*; and from *Jerusalem* shall proceed the salvation of the Gentiles that shall be received into Gods kingdom: as is also more expressly declared by the same Prophet, Chap. 65. 20, 21. *And they* (that is, the Gentiles who had any Jew in bondage) *shall bring all your Brethren for an offering to the Lord, out of all Nations, upon Horses, and in Charrets, and in Litters, and upon Mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy Mountaine, Jerusalem saith the Lord, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord. & I will also take of them for Priests, and for Levites saith the Lord.* Whereby it is manifest, that the chief seat of Gods kingdom (which is the place from whence the salvation of us that were Gentiles, shall proceed) shall be *Jerusalem*: and the same is also confirmed by our Saviour, in his discourse with the woman of *Samaria*, concerning the place of Gods worship; to whom he saith, *Joh.* 4. 22. *That the* Samaritans *worshipped they knew not what, but the* Jews *worship what they know, for salvation is of the* Jews, (*ex Judæis*,

that

that is, begins at the Jews:) as if he should say, you worship God, but know not by whom he will save you, as we do, that know it shall be by one of the tribe of *Judah*, a *Jew*, not a *Samaritan*: and therefore also the woman not impertinently answered him again, *We know the Messias shall come.* So that which our Saviour saith, *Salvation is from the Jews*, is the same that S. *Paul* sayes, (Rom. 1. 16, 17.) *The gospel is the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first and also to the Greek: for therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith*; from the faith of the Jew, to the faith of the Gentile. In the like sense the Prophet *Joel* describing the day of judgement (*Chap.* 2. 30, 31.) *that God would shew wonders in heaven, and in earth, blood and fire, and pillars of smoak; the Sun shall be turned into darkness, and the Moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come*; he addeth, *ver.* 32. *And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved: for in mount Zion, and in Jerusalem shall be Salvation.* And *Obadiah* ver. 17. saith the same, *Upon mount Zion shall be deliverance, and there shall be holyness, and the house of* Jacob *shall possess their possessions*, that is, the possessions of the heathen, which possessions he expresseth most particularly in the following verses, by the mount of *Esau*, the land of the *Philistines*, the fields of *Ephraim*, of *Samaria*, *Gilead*, and the Cities of the *South*; and concludes with these words, *The kingdome shall be the Lords.* All these places are for salvation, and the kingdome of God (after the day of judgement) upon earth.

Sect.

Stud. It is manifest that *Isaiah*, in those places, meaneth the salvation from *Senacherib* & the *Assyrians* wrought by God himself, in the daies of *Hezekiah*; whilst the Jews relyed upon *Sethon*, who deceiv'd them, hoping that the *Assyrians* and they weakning each other, his strength might be the better promoted against both. The Prophesy of *Joel* concerneth, literally, those times, when the *Caldeans*, by sword and fire, destroyed *Jerusalem*, at which season, (according to the height of the prophetick style) the very face of the heavens (by reason of the flames, and smoke, and streams of blood) were alter'd, to the amazement of common spectators. It seemeth also a type of the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*. The saved, *V.* 32. were the captives reserved alive, a remnant design'd by God for the continuance of his Church. *Obadiah* is to be understood (*a*) of the destruction of the *Edomites*, and of the aforesaid salvation from the *Assyrians*. The places in S. *John*, and S. *Paul*, relate to the beginning of the Gospel, & not to the beginning of the kingdome of glory (*b*) the *Messiah* according to the flesh, arising from that Nation; and the Gospel being first offered to them. You should have done well to have added those other words in St. *John* (*V.* 21.) *The hour cometh & now is when ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at* Jerusalem *worship the Father.* You have, for the serving your hypothesis, erred most grosly in these your last interpretations of holy writ: & I cannot but pity you, whilst I perceive you, in gloriously, stumbling, when you are just stepping out of this disputation. Let no man, hereafter, honour you with the name of Philosopher, who findeth you no happier at the interpretation of Nature, then of the holy Bible;

a *See* 2 Chron. 28. 9, 16, 17, *&c.*

b Luk. 24. 47. *Rep. & rem.* to be *preached to all---beginning at* Jerusalem Acts 13. 46. *---the word first spoken to*

into

into the inward sense of which you enter not, by any expedite unlocking of its mysteries; being resolved to force a way, through it, to your own novel conceits. But at this, I am not to be astonished: for there is so much learning, and so much attention required to the true understanding of divers sections of holy writ; that if a man hath not made it much his business, to study, and meditate, about that true and concerning part of Antiquity, to compare text with text, and reading with reading, and sacred history with profane, his thoughts will scarce be worth the writing down upon the most neglected piece of paper. Good Sir be wise to sobriety; handle the Scripture with more reverence and care; be not rashly busie in relation to the things of the Altar, for there is a burning coal, ready, always, to stick to a profane finger, which will endanger somthing of greater price then your reputation.

Mr. *Hobbes*. You your self have not examined (*a*) the Scriptures to the bottom: therefore you perhaps may be, but are not yet, a good Divine. I would you had but so much Ethicks, as to be civil: but you are a notable expositor, so fare you well, and consider what honor you doe to the University of which you have bin a member; and what honor you do to *Corpus Christi* Colledge, by your divinity; & what honor you do to your Degree, with the manner of your language: & take this counsel along with you; Think me no more worthy of your pains, you see how I have fouled your fingers.

(*a*) *An Imitation of his conclus. of Stigmai, p. 31.*

Stud. Nay, if the scene be so changed, that we must rail and quarrel instead of debating matters with sober reason, it is time to have done; the world having long since had enough of passion and impertinent noise. *The End.*

ERRATA.

IN Epist. Ded. lin. 6. for owe, read ow. pag. 6. lin. 11. for *extemporanious* read *extemporary*.

In the Table. Mr. *Hobbes* very often printed for Mr. *Hobbes*'s. p. 7. l. 2. f. doctor r. doctrine. l. 21. after trifleth, add a period. l. 25. f. temperance r. nature. p. 9. l. 22. after table, add a period. p. 12. l. 22. after on earth, a comma.

In the Book. p. 4. l. 17. for solicited r. selected. l. 30. for Fire r. Five. p. 5. l. 19. for *Rostius* r. *Roscius*. p. 6. l. 14: for the Confident r. your Friend. p. 10. l. 22. after God, a period. p. 14. l. 2. for wine r. wind. p. 14. in Marg. after part 2. p. add 190. & l. 14. & 21. p. 22. l. 1. & l. 22. & p. 27. l. 25. & p. 33. l. 33. & p. 37. l. 6. & p. 43. l. 22. & l. 29. & p. 46. l. 16. & p. 47. l. 9. f. Phylosoph. &c. r. Philosoph. &c. p. 16. in marg. for. upp. r. hyp. p. 17. in marg. for ἄυτοις r. ἀυτοῖς. l. 33. f. lay r. layeth. p. 18. marg. f. *ed Fir*, r. *ed Ficin*. f. *Necochim* r. *Nevochim*. p. 19. in marg. for λογιασμὸν r. λογισμὸν. f. ἀνένητος r. ἀγένητος. p. 20. in marg. for νηπιαν r. νηπίων. p. 23. l. 7. for signifyfie r. signifie. p. 24. l. 10. after affirmation, a period. p. 25. l. 7. f. ὑσία r. ὐσία. p. 26. l. 3. f. hastily r. harshly. p. 28. the colon to be set after [what he is:] p. 29. l. 2. after he is, a period. l. 5. after nature. a period. l. 29. after wisdom, a period. p. 33. l. 29. after Imagination, a comma. p. 35. l. 33. f. iniquity r. inanitie. p. 36. l. 12. after celebrate, a comma, p. 39. l. 7. after, but one, two points: p. 40. l. 24. f. he r. be. p. 44. l. 26. f. pranted r. granted. p. 45. l. 26. f. Assent r. Ascent. p. 46. l. 1. after rest, a comma. p. 48. l. 9. after framed, a comma. p. 50. l. 13. f. things r. Kings. p. 51. l. 9. after air, a period. p. 59. l. 8. f. All r. the. p. 62. l. 10. f. be able r. being able. p. 72. l. 13. after Ghost, a comma. l. 27. f. *ninos sibi* r. *ni nos tibi*. p. 73. l. 9. f. humour r. humours. p. 76. l. 11, 12. most effectually to an Ecclesiastic, in a Parenthesis. p. 78. l. 22. blot out do. p. 79. l. 32. for to underst. r. to be underst. p. 83. l. 7. after counter-pressure, add a comma. p. 90. l. 10. after motions, a comma. p. 93. l. 5. in the marg. f. *ipsu* r. *ipsum*. p. 94. l. 5. blot out in. p. 96. l. ult. f. should r. I should. p. 103. l. 18. f. teaching r. touching. p. 108. l. 20, f. men in r. main. p. 118. l. 5. f. you r. them. p. 127. l. 18, 19. of the right, printed twice. p. 131. l. 21. f. invaded r. minded. p. 133. l. 28. f. Epitom r. Epitome. p. 134. l. 19. f. *Arabes* r. *Arabs*. l. 21. f. wildness r. wiliness. p. 136. l. 13. f. *Arabes* r. *Arabs*. p. 140. l. 9. f. *Pollen*. r. *Pellenæarian*. p. 144. l. 8. blot out their. p. 161. l. 21. f. the r. your. p. 162. l. 8. f. and self r. on self. p. 163. l. 8. f. calls r. lets. p. 201. l. 22. f. reapted r. repeated. p. 203. l. 21. f. effect r. effusion. p. 227. l. 8. f. cast r. cut. p. 228. l. 14. f. posterity r. prosperity. l. 18. f. conted r. contend, p. 79 l. 26: between nor and without moisture p. 114: l. 3: for and: of: page 25 l. 14: motions for notions —